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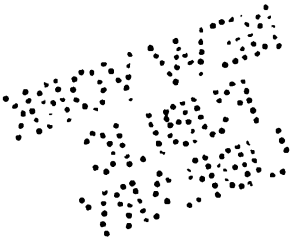

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THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

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FAITH.

Grace expresses the attitude and relation of God to a sinner. And grace justifies and saves the sinner. However, saving grace is not an irresistible fiat of the Almighty. Grace may fail of its aim and end. No sinner is justified and saved parforce. There must be a proper attitude and an adequate relation of the sinner who is being justified and saved to God who justifies and is saving him. Faith expresses this latter attitude and relation. *"By grace* are *ye* saved *through faith,"* Eph. 2, 8. This means that salvation in individual instances, the saving of this or that particular sinner, requires the effectual operation of *two* forces. True, "the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men," Tit. 2, 11, regardless of men's attitude toward it. The word of grace has been issued to all men prior to their knowledge and wish, Matt. 28, 19. There is a salvation, perfect and complete in itself, independent of the faith of the saved; comp. Acts 4, 12: "Neither *is there salvation in any other,"* etc. Neither man's faith nor man's unbelief alter the fact of this salvation. The *Τετέλεσται* on Golgotha, John 19, 30, was spoken before unbelievers and scoffers. This cry has been ringing through the centuries. The "word of reconciliation" conjures up no mirage to pilgrims through this desert of sin, but points to the *fact* that "God was in Christ, *reconciling the world unto Himself,* not imputing their trespasses unto them," 2 Cor. 5, 19. This salvation "is finished." Whether its tidings are carried to the husbandman on his farm or to the trader

amidst his merchandise, or to the prowler on the highways, they always state, briefly and concisely, this fact: *"All things are ready,"* *πάντα ἕτοιμα*, Matt. 22, 1 ff. The faith of the saved makes not a particle of difference, as far as the actual existence in fact of this salvation and its absolute completeness are concerned.

But the faith of the saved makes all the difference to the saved. "Unto us was the Gospel preached, as well as unto them: but the Word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it," Hebr. 4, 2. *Οὐκ ὠφέλησεν*, this statement determines the necessity of faith for personal salvation. I have been saved without my faith, I am, without my faith, called to a personal share in the salvation of all, but if I believe not, — *οὐκ ὠφέλησεν*!

Personal salvation, justification, then, is by *two* means: *τῇ χάριτι διὰ τῆς πίστεως*. The grammatical construction of both terms, which are equally related to *ἐστὲ σεσωσμένοι*, shows that each enters into the act expressed by the verb by its own peculiar force. The simple dative expresses cause, *διά* with the genitive, agency. The terms are not independent of one another, but the cause works through this established agency, and the agency, for its effectiveness, relies on the cause. The dependence of faith on grace was shown in THEOL. QUARTERLY, vol. IX, p. 206. It is the concept of faith, its Scriptural content, and its energy in justification and salvation, that must now be presented for study.

Grace saves, and faith saves. Neither saves without the other, in particular instances. Saving grace postulates faith in the *subjectum operationis*. Faith has for its correlate grace, the atoning work of grace, and the word of grace. Saving grace does not become operative in the sinner unless by faith, and saving faith, apart from grace, lacks all energy. Faith is the only channel through which grace flows into the sinner's heart, and in this channel nothing can flow but grace.

Grace exists in God, goes out from God. Faith exists in man, goes out from man. The study of the concept of faith,

then, brings us away, — though not entirely, as will be seen, — from the mind and will and purposes of God, and takes us into the arcanum of the human heart, its qualities, powers, and activities; for it is there that the process of faith, the act of faith is taking place, and a state of faith exists. Rightly understood, faith is the human element in justification. Not, indeed, that quota of merit which the *subjectum operationis* in this process, sinful man, contributes out of his own store, or out of some borrowed store, to make up, together with divine grace, the resultant product of the sinner's righteousness; but that activity of the human mind, affections and will, which is brought into play on the part of the sinner, — we have specified in the preceding issue by what cause and in what manner, — and which reaches out toward the proffered hand of grace and toward the pardon and blessing which that hand extends, and which, through the mediation of the sinner's Advocate, results in an intimate union of the criminal with the Judge in this forensic process. God is gracious to the sinner; the sinner acknowledges with trustful satisfaction this attitude of God towards him. God bestows His pardon upon the sinner; the sinner places an implicit confidence in God's verdict upon him. Thus is justification accomplished, and man saved "by grace through faith."

The fact that faith possesses no merit, and cannot be viewed as an impelling cause in the article of justification; that it is a gift of God, wrought in us by the preaching of the word of grace and the Spirit of grace through that Word, does not signify that man is not active at all when he believes. On the contrary, faith represents the very intensest action of which the human mind and heart are capable. Faith is the human echo rising from the deepest caverns of the heart in response to the voice of the Gospel; it is the human answer to the divine call; the conscious and determined alliance of the heart to Him who has captured the heart. The believer in the act of believing is not an automaton; he is not acted upon only, but he acts, and that knowingly and willingly. Just as certainly as the

gracious inclination and decree of God and the gracious operation of the Holy Spirit through the Gospel represent a personal attitude and activity of God to the sinner, just as certainly the pleased assent and trustful reliance of the human will on God represent a personal attitude and activity on the part of the sinner toward God. The sinner's conscious and sincere declaration: "I know and believe," is grammatically and logically the statement of an act in which he, the sinner, is, knows himself to be, and desires to be, considered the agent, and the sole responsible agent. His mouth in this declaration is not a speaking-trumpet through which the thought of another is conveyed to the outside world; his heart is not a platform from which another delivers solemn statements of his conviction, but the speaker in this case is also the thinker of the words which he speaks and has willed to speak those words, and wishes to stand by his words, to be held to account for them, and to be judged by them. It is not denied, indeed, that *there is* another present and active in the speaker; and it is another question: How came the speaker thus to express himself? The point being urged now is this: when the believer declares: "I know and believe!" he predicates action of himself. The act or process of faith, though not of the sinner's creation, still is an operation of his inner energies. It is his own heart with its forces that is at work in this act; it is *his* faith. God loves, Christ redeems, the Holy Spirit calls and enlightens the sinner, but neither God, nor Christ, nor the Spirit believe for, or with the sinner, though they all aid him toward faith and induce, work faith in him. The Word, and the preacher of the Word, and the Church which sends the preacher, all show to the sinner the necessity of faith, and the way to believe; they also urge him to believe, but the sinner's faith, the act of his believing, though brought about and wrought through their instrumentality, is not performed by them, but by the sinner himself.

However, it is also theologically correct to claim for faith a personal activity on the part of the believer. For faith receives the righteousness of God; yea, faith is counted for righteousness

to the believer, Rom. 4, 22, and that in every instance of justification, v. 23. 24. Unless the sinner's righteousness is held by proxy, just as it was obtained by proxy, faith must be the sinner's personal act. Again, faith and obedience are, in many places, Scriptural synonyms. Obedience cannot be rendered through an agent. To argue that the statement: The sinner believes, means that the sinner is represented as a believer through another's effort, while, in reality, he is a disobedient person, would be manifest folly.

Accordingly, the faith of individuals in particular instances is mentioned and distinguished from that of others: Luke 1, 45: "Blessed is she that believed;" comp. v. 20: "because thou believedst not my words." *"Thy* faith hath saved *thee,"* Matt. 9, 22. Mark 5, 34; 10, 52. Luke 8, 48; 17, 19. "According to *your* faith be it unto you," Matt. 9, 29. "O woman, great is *thy* faith; be it unto thee, *even as thou wilt,"* Matt. 15, 28. "Where is your faith?" Luke 8, 25. "Jesus seeing their faith," Matt. 9, 2. "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth," Mark 9, 23. "If thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see," John 11, 40. "Reach hither thy finger . . . and be not faithless, but believing," John 20, 27. "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not," Luke 22, 32. "Increase our faith," Luke 17, 5. We are told of Abraham's, Moses', Abel's, etc., faith, Hebr. 11. Rom. 4, 3. 18. James 2, 23. Paul speaks to his Romans of "the mutual faith both of them and him," Rom. 1, 12. "Thy faith" — "my faith," James 2, 18. Timothy's, Eunice's, Lois' faith, 2 Tim. 1, 5; the faith of Christians at Thessalonica, 1 Thess. 1, 8; 3, 2. 6. 7; 2 Thess. 1, 3; at Ephesus, Eph. 1, 15; at Colossæ, Col. 1, 4; at Rome, Rom. 1, 8; at Corinth, 2 Cor. 8, 7; at Philippi, Phil 2, 17; of many of the chief rulers of the synagogue, John 12, 42; of a great company of the priests at Jerusalem, Acts 6, 7 — these and many others are facts which are extolled and held up for encouragement and emulation in the sacred accounts of the early days of Christianity. It was certainly felt that in the act of a person's believing there

was a manifestation of personal force, which imprinted what we might call spiritual character on the respective Christian. And when Paul counsels a Roman church member: "Hast thou faith? Have it to thyself alone," Rom. 14, 22; when he rejoicingly states of himself: "I have kept the faith," 2 Tim. 4, 7; when we hear of certain persons' "first faith," 1 Tim. 5, 12, of the Corinthians' faith that is to be increased, 2 Cor. 10, 15; when we hear the agitated father in the Gospel appealingly address the Master: "Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief!" Matt. 9, 24, — is there not in all these instances a reference to an important event in the persons' inner life, in which they have consciously borne an active part? But this fact will more clearly and strikingly appear when we inquire of Scripture the content of an act of faith.

A number of Scriptural terms must be drawn into our present research,[1] chief among them the terms *πίστις*, *πιστός*, and *πιστεύειν*. With regard to these three terms, in particular, profane usage is hardly relevant for determining their exact signification in Scripture. Classical Greek and Biblical Greek differ widely in their use of these terms.[2] A state of affairs exists, as regards the classical usage of this term, similar to that

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1) The true content of the Biblical concept of human faith must be gathered from the native force and the Scriptural usage of such terms as *πείθεσθαι* (*πεποιθέναι*, *πέπεισθαι*), *πεποίθησις*, *πιστός*, *πιστόω*, *πίστις*, *πιστεύειν*. By way of contrast the meaning of the term "faith" will appear also from such privatives as *ἀπειθής*, *ἀπειθέω*, *ἀπειθεία*, *ἄπιστος*, *ἀπιστέω*, and *ἀπιστία*, and from the compounds *ὀλιγόπιστος* and *ὀλιγοπιστία*.

2) "Faith has obtained a (new) signification through the appearing of Jesus Christ." (Cremer, *Bibl. theol. Woerterb.*, 7. ed., p. 748.) "With it" (this new signification) "the New Testament era as the era of the revelation of faith becomes distinct from the Old Testament era as that of education unto faith." (Ibid., p. 750.) "Profane Greek offers us the term, but nothing more." (Ibid., p. 745 sq.) "All this" (the Biblical content) "is not contained in the Greek *πίστις* as applied within the domain of religion, except the idea of acknowledgment, and even that how meagerly!" (Ibid., p. 746.) "Homer knows a *πείθεσθαι* with reference to the signs and wonders of deities, but it is in no case the person of the gods, in regard to which *πειθόμενος πείθεται*." (Ibid., p. 727.)

noted with reference to χάρις.[3] Both the Greeks and the Romans knew, and even worshiped πίστις, *fides;* but the idea which they connect with this term, when used in its passive sense, is reliability, trustworthiness, fidelity, credibility of matters and persons, or, when used in its active sense, confidence, trust, conviction, either as bestowed upon others, or as enjoyed from others.[4] Even when used with reference to religious matters, Roman and Greek writers express by "faith in the gods" merely the universal or national acceptation or recognition of the existence of deities, their power and supernatural influence, but not personal, subjective trust in the divine favor. Faith in the gods, with them, never signifies firm reliance and confiding trust in a gracious God, but the commonplace idea and attitude over and against the Unseen, the Supernatural.[5] The Roman goddess Fides was in no sense a personification of the Christian faith.

The number of Scripture texts in which the term πίστις and cognate terms are used, is very large. As not germane to our subject we eliminate from this number, firstly, all those

3) See THEOL. QUARTERLY IX, pp. 130. 131. CREMER: "Πίστις, faith, is a word that, if any, has become important for the history of the origin of the language of Christianity; for all elements which enter into the formation of a language, viz., the precedent of the Old Testament" (Cremer refers to the LXX rendering of אֱמוּנָה by πίστις), "the signification of this word as understood by profane writers and when applied within the sphere of religion, and also the aptness of the word for reproducing the Christian conception, — all combine, in order, on the one hand, to offer to the spirit of the New Testament the suitable term, and, on the other hand, to fill this term with a specific content." (Ibid., p. 735.)

4) "The term *fides*, in common usage among the Romans, is understood in a somewhat different sense in the Holy Scriptures than it is usually understood by profane writers. For with the Romans *fides* usually signifies truthfulness in speaking and acting, or fidelity in the performance of promises. Cicero derives *fides*, etymologically, from the idea that something said or promised by someone is to be realized, as if the two words *fiat dictum* had become amalgamated in *fides*." (Flacius, *Clavis*, ed. ult. 1617. col. 307.)

5) Ovid's "Credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum" (*Met. 4.*) ("I do believe, nor is it with a shallow faith, that there is a race of gods"), is no more than a deistic notion. (Cf. Cremer, l. c., p. 739.)

texts which predicate *πίστις* of God,[6] secondly, all those which speak of human *πίστις* in purely human affairs,[7] and, thirdly, the *πίστις* of the diabolical spirits.[8] Our business is exclusively with that Biblical and theological quantity which enters into, and acts a certain well-defined part in the divine act of justification, and which is known as "saving faith," *fides salvifica, fides justificans.*

What is the content of this faith? It was stated before that the energies of the human heart are set to work in the act of faith. *Faith is,* indeed, *an affair of the heart.* "With the heart, *καρδίᾳ*, man believeth unto righteousness," Rom. 10, 10. "If thou shalt believe in thine heart, *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου*, thou shalt be saved," v. 9. Philip, before sealing to the eunuch the righteousness of faith, made sure that he believed "with all his heart," *ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας*, Acts 8, 37. Mountain-moving faith is described as "not doubting in the heart, but believing," *μὴ διακριθῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃ*, Mark 11, 23. Faith "purifies the heart, *τῇ πίστει καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας*, Acts 15, 9. Those who draw near to God in the new and living way consecrated to us by the blood of Jesus, come "with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience," *μετὰ ἀληθινῆς καρδίας ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας κτλ.*, Hebr. 10, 22. Believers "assure their hearts" before God (*πείσομεν τὴν καρδίαν*), 1 John 3, 19; their heart does not condemn them, *καρδία μὴ καταγινώσκῃ*, v. 20. 21. The justified by faith have "the love of God shed abroad in the hearts," *ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, Rom. 5, 5; they are "given the earnest of the Spirit in their hearts," *ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, 2 Cor. 1, 22. Their heart has by faith become the dwelling-place of Christ, *κατοικῆσαι τὸν*

6) E. g. Rom. 3, 3: "the faith of God" is God's trustworthiness in His promises. Comp. v. 4 and ch. 9, 6; 11, 29. — 2 Tim. 2, 13: "God is faithful," *i. e.*, He keeps faith, even though we break faith with Him.

7) E. g. Matt. 23, 23: "faith" as one of the weightier matters of the Law; Luke 12, 42: "faithful and wise steward;" Gal. 5, 22: "faith" as a fruit of the Spirit in the daily renewal of the regenerate.

8) James 2, 19.

Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις, Eph. 3, 17. The peace that comes after justification by faith "rules in the hearts," *βραβευέτω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, Col. 3, 15, "keeps the hearts," *φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας*, Phil. 4, 7. Finally, in sanctification "hearts are stablished in holiness" unto the coming of the Lord, *στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας*, 1 Thess. 3, 13. At all stages of saving faith, thus, it is to the heart that the Lord addresses Himself, and that is seen to act in response to Him. *The heart is the organ of faith in man.*

Consistently with the above, lack of faith, unbelief, is charged against the heart. Cleopas and his companion were "slow of heart to believe," *βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν*, Luke 24, 25. In the Gentiles there is "blindness of heart," *πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας*, Eph. 4, 18. Pharisaical sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy reveals "hardness of heart," *σκληροκαρδίαν*, Matt. 19, 8, which precludes a believing acceptance of the true teachings of God's Word.

In all the passages cited the heart is viewed as a unit. It is not any one particular energy of the heart, *e. g.*, the intellectual faculty, that exerts itself in any act of saving faith, nor a combination of two or more faculties, *e. g.*, the emotion of fear or wonder roused by a process of reasoning, or a reliance based on reasonable certainty, or an intelligent yielding and trusting, but all and every force which the human heart is capable of exerting, the whole heart with all its energies that is made to act in faith, all energies acting simultaneously and harmoniously. D.

(To be continued.)

SOME PARALLELS TO ROM. 1, 18 ff.

It is clear that the second half of the first, the entire second, and part of the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans serve as an introduction to St. Paul's exposition of the doctrine of Justification by Faith in chapters 3 to 8. The argument of this introduction is summed up in the proposition: Neither Jew

nor Gentile can escape the judgment of God, since the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all who *"hold the truth in unrighteousness."* Israel cannot escape, though it has the Law and knows the will of God (2, 18), because Israel transgresses that Law (2, 21—27). Indeed, Israel is the more inexcusable, since it alone among the nations possessed the revealed religion — "unto them were committed the oracles of God" (3, 2). The Gentile world is likewise under the curse and cannot escape the wrath of God. They "have not the Law," theirs are not the oracles of God, but the Law of God is "written in their hearts" (2, 14. 15). Moreover, they also *know God, but worship Him not,* and this is the principal cause for their condemnation in the judgment of God, as exhibited in 1, 18—32. Thus (3, 9) "we have proved both Jews and Gentiles that they are all under sin." Hence, both Jew and Gentile (3, 29) are justified before God by faith only (3, 28).

It is our present purpose to adduce parallels from the ethnic writers and from the modern authorities on matters of Natural Religion, in elucidation of St. Paul's words concerning the status of pagan theology (in its narrower sense), 1, 18 sqq. The structural arrangement of these verses seems sufficiently clear. Verses 18 to 20 contain a statement of the general truth, applicable to all mankind ("men," v. 18), that they "know God, but worship Him not." Verses 21 to 32 relate, historically, the results of this denial of the truth, as they appeared in the life and morals of the nations in the days of St. Paul. It is of first importance to note, 1) that the idolaters which "God gave up to the lusts of their flesh" are included in "men," v. 18, which is the antecedent of *αὐτοῖς* and *αὐτούς* (vv. 19, 20, 24, 26, etc.), and the subject of the verbs in vv. 21 to 32. That is to say, *even after* men refuse to worship God, after they "have become fools," idolaters, and slaves of unnatural lusts, they are still said to retain within them that knowledge of God, "that which may be apprehended concerning Him" (*τὰ νοούμενα*) in the works of creation. They still retain "the truth" (vv. 18. 25!). Against that they are sinning; *therefore* they have "no excuse"

when called to judgment. 2) The order of climax in vv. 21—32 must be considered. The first consequence of this denial of the divine truth revealed in nature, is moral decay (v. 24). This is followed by further religious degeneration (v. 25), this, by still greater moral decay (vv. 26. 27), this, again, by idolatry (v. 28), and idolatry, once more, becomes the cause of further moral corruption (vv. 29—32). There is here a constant *retrogression* from the knowledge of God as innate in the human mind, — a knowledge, however, which is never entirely lost (v. 19: *φανερόν ἐστιν*, and v. 20: *καθορᾶται*),— accompanied by a blunting of the moral faculties, which, in turn, becomes the cause of further religious loss, until the worshiper has become a "hater of God" (v. 30) and a "lover of sin" (v. 32). This relation of cause and effect is sufficiently clear from the terms *διὸ καί* in v. 24, *διὰ τοῦτο* in v. 26, and *καθώς* in v. 28. There is not *sequence* merely, but *consequence*.

Proceeding on the basis of this structural arrangement of the passage, we shall exhibit from the sources indicated: the universality of religion, as implied in the entire passage; the *contents* of that knowledge which St. Paul predicates of the natural mind, vv. 18. 19; the *method* bv which man arrives at it, vv. 19. 20, and its gradual *decay* — the result of persistent denial — adumbraged in vv. 21—32.

There is one fact which stands out in bold relief in St. Paul's argument for the inexcusableness of the pagan world — the universality here predicated of religion. Those who are in v. 21 said to have "knowledge of God," and the "truth" (v. 18), are the "men" of v. 18, mankind in general. Even theoretically to admit the existence of nations or tribes of men, no matter how completely degenerate culturally, possessing no knowledge of God, would vitiate our conception of St. Paul's argument, and is contrary to the plain statements of this passage. It is no longer necessary to inquire into the credibility of the reports of early explorers and missionaries among the tribes of central Africa, Central and South America, and Australia, recording the discovery of peoples "without a vestige of reli-

gion," "having no name for 'God,' 'soul,' etc." These reports were eagerly seized upon by a sect of ethnologists,[1] who had an interest in asserting their confidence in them, and who welcomed them as completing the chain of Evolution in Religion. Subsequent research, however, has demonstrated all such reports to be unsupported by the facts. Recent investigators have in some cases found highly developed systems of mythology and worship, where their predecessors failed to note "an inkling of religious cognition." The Australian aborigines are a case in point. It was the fashion, among ethnologists of a generation ago, to refer to the Papuans as a people "so low in the ladder of development, that they had not yet reached the first conceptions of a divinity." Every student of anthropology now knows that these tribes have not only a religion and religious festivals, but have a highly specialized and detailed system of worship, have a belief, similar to that of the ancient Egyptians, and, possibly, of the American Indians, in the resurrection of the dead, "which they symbolize at their festivals by burying a living elder, who then rises from the grave." [2] These observations may or they may not be based on fact as to every particular — though the testimony seems unimpeachable; what we would emphasize is this, that the universality of religion is to-day recognized by ethnologists the world over, and that the notion of an "endemic atheism" has long since been consigned to the *limbus fatuorum*.

Now, St. Paul goes a step farther than our ethnologists. Not only have all men some religious intuition, or cognition, or impulse. Not only do men the world over recognize the existence of the spiritual, the extra-mundane, the transcendental as opposed to the material, the experimental, and their own dependence upon it, but they "know God" (γνόντες τὸν θεόν); "that which may be known (τὸ γνωστόν) concerning God is revealed to them." They possess what "God has revealed to

1) Spencer, *Sociology* III, § 584. J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 574. Cf. Bastian, *Vorgeschichtl. Schoepfungslieder*, p. 41. Jastrow, *Study of Religion*, p. 34.

2) Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 295 sqq.

them," that is to say, "the Truth" (v. 25). This knowledge, moreover, is not represented as having been given in time past, and as now lost, but is predicated of the world in terms as general as the proclamation of God's wrath in v. 18. Hence, a primeval knowledge,[3] given in the beginning of history, cannot be inferred from the text. If such were meant, we should not read the present tenses in vv. 19 and 20, but the past, and not *ἐφανέρωσε* in v. 19, but the perfect. (In v. 21 the subject, "men," is narrowed down to those nations whose moral degeneration is surveyed in this and the following verses; hence the change of tenses.) Besides, vv. 19 and 20 distinctly assert that the knowledge here spoken of is gained from a contemplation of nature; it is a knowledge gained through human reasoning, *a posteriori,* proceeding from an apperception of the divine attributes, — both quiescent and operative, as Unity, Infinity, Will, Power, — as revealed in the forms, forces, and phenomena of nature. This knowledge[4] men possess, and because they refuse Him worship whom they know, they shall have no excuse in the judgment of God's wrath.

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3) We fail to understand what "revelation" Rawlinson possibly could have had in mind when he wrote (*Rel. of the Ancient World,* § 232): "The theory to which the facts . . . point, is the existence of a *primitive religion* communicated to man from without, whereof monotheism and expiatory sacrifice were parts, and the gradual clouding over of this *primitive revelation* everywhere, unless it were among the Hebrews." The revelation granted to man at the creation was not "clouded over gradually," but was lost in the Fall, as certainly as that other part of the divine image, man's holiness. And Israel did not preserve a "primitive revelation," but a later, particular revelation granted to Abraham *some two thousand years after* the primeval revelation had been given to man at his creation.

4) Eph. 4, 18 St. Paul speaks of the "*ignorance* that is in them;" similarly Gal. 4, 8: "When ye *knew not* God;" cf. Eph. 2, 12. But this is the ignorance to which Christ refers John 8, 19: "Ye neither know me nor my Father." Neither the Pharisees nor the Gentile world possessed the spiritual saving knowledge of God, that revelation of God's grace in Jesus Christ "which no eye hath seen, no ear hath heard, neither hath entered the heart of man." To obtain this knowledge, man must first be known of God, Gal. 4, 9: "But now, after that ye have known God, *or rather are known of God,* how turn ye again," etc.

Ethnic literature, whether classical, Vedic, Egyptian, Babylonian, Parsee, or Finnic, abounds in parallels to St. Paul's "Knowing God, they worshiped Him not as God." They meet us wherever we hear the pagan speak the thoughts which are in his heart, and at all stages of cultural development. Even the casual reader cannot fail to note the fact, that all the hideous cults of pagan idolatry were continued *in spite of* a better knowledge, in spite of the conviction that there is a Supreme Power above and beyond the figures of mythology.

The inhabitants of ancient Egypt had at an early age fallen into a polytheistic system of worship which contained fetishistic elements. Their prayers were addressed to the sun, to the Nile, and to a host of abstract divinities. But even in the age of greatest decay, a God Untar was conceived to be of a higher, more sublime character. Untar, moreover, means "power," and the phrase Untar Untra is exactly equivalent to El Shaddai — God Almighty.[5] Now, what seems much to the point, Untar Untra, the Lord God, is referred to in a great number of Egyptian texts, as Renouf informs us, which otherwise contain manifestly polytheistic views. In such contexts we read, for instance: "*God* knows the wicked; He smites the wicked, even to blood." Again, we are reminded of the inscription on the altar at Athens, as we hear the Egyptian priest exclaim: "Ah, great God, whose name is unknown —!"[6] This in an age of advanced polytheism; the same text which contains these words concludes with prayers to the popular divinities. Renouf[7] quotes the following from the maxims of Ani: "The God of the world is in the light above the firmament; his emblems are on earth; it is to *them* (the emblems) that worship is rendered daily," and not to the Lord God in heaven. And when Amenhotep IV (ca. 1400 B. C.) instituted a monotheistic form of worship, — though of a solar character, — and attempted to destroy the popular faith by abolishing the images of the divin-

5) Le P. Renouf, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 103.

6) Strauss-Torney, *Altaegypt. Goettergl.* I, 345.

7) l. c., p. 106; also quoted by Strauss-Torney, op. cit., p. 346.

ities, his plan proved a disastrous failure: the grosser cults were revived, and the very statues of the "reformer" were destroyed by an angry populace.[8]

A similar reform, instituted by the Peruvian Inca Yupanqui, will be detailed in another paragraph. A temple was built by him to "the Creator" in a vale by the sea. But when the Spaniards came in 1525, they "found an ugly idol of wood representing a colossal *human person* and receiving the prayers of the votaries."[9]—"They changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like the corruptible man" (v. 23). The detail of a somewhat related story concerning the Mexican King Nezahuatl will also be given in a subsequent chapter. Like Yupanqui, the Mexican ruler acknowledged publicly his belief in "the true God, the invisible and unknown, the universal Creator," and dedicated an altar which bore the inscription: "To the Unknown God." Yet we are informed that the king "continued to receive prayers directed to himself as a brother of the sun, and the regular services to that luminary were never interrupted in his temple." Nor are these examples unique in the history of native American religions. The words of Renouf concerning ancient Egypt may be applied to the American Indian: "No facts appear to be more clearly proved than these: 1) *That the doctrines of one God and that of many gods were taught by the same men.*"

Castren, the recognized authority on everything connected with Finnic systems of belief, has the following: The Ostjaks, Samoyedes, Tunguses, and many other Siberian tribes have a very crude form of polytheism, almost amounting to fetish-worship, and permeated with Shamanism. Yet they acknowledge a God higher than the sun, moon, sacred mountains, etc. This God, however, is not represented by images, receives no sacrifice, no prayers, *no worship of any kind. Instead,* they

8) Hommel, *Hist. of the Orient*, p. 80 sq.

9) Quoted by Brinton from contemporary Spanish records. Brinton says that the facts are undoubtedly historical and the evidence unimpeachable.

adore images of wood, or tin, *representing the human form and the human face*[10] — images of corruptible man. Of the Tunguses especially Castren notes that they "are a people ruled by Shamanism; still they acknowledge a Highest Being under the name of Buga, but *at the same time* adore their images and fetishes, and turn in veneration to the sun, moon, stars, earth, fire, etc." "The Samoyedes also acknowledge a Supreme Being, Nun, and worship *at the same time* their idols and various natural objects."[11] Thus Bastian[12] has observed, as an eye-witness, the fact that among the negroes of Fernando Po "every hut generally contains small idols which receive sacrifice *together with* Rupe, the Great Spirit." Similarly, W. W. Gill, the greatest authority on the mythology of the Pacific Islanders, relates[13] that among the Hawaiians "Vatea, the father of gods and men, possessed no morae, had no wooden or stone representations, *nor was any worship ever paid to him.*" Concerning certain tribes of Africa, P. Baudin reports, also from personal observation, that they have "a confused idea of the only God, Olorun, *who receives no worship.*" Still "they invoke him in sudden danger and great affliction."[14] Of another African tribe Winwood Reade says (*Savage Africa,* 1863): "The equatorial savages *do not worship* the Good Spirit, nor pronounce his name; once only, when we were in a dangerous storm, the men threw their clenched hands upwards and cried it twice." And concerning the Polynesians we are told, on good authority, that "the highest Divinity to whom the creation of all things, including the lesser divinities, is ascribed, received very little veneration, while the local deities were worshiped *almost exclusively* on the Society Islands.[15] Among the early Chaldeans, Il or Ra, "a sort of fount and origin of Deity," was "too remote from man to be much worshiped. . . . There is *no evidence*

10) Castren, *Finn. Mythol.*, ch. III, pp. 191—236.
11) l. c., pp. 2. 3.
12) *African Travels:* San Salvador, 1859, p. 317.
13) *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific.* London, 1876. p. 17.
14) *Fetishism*, p. 10. 15) Rawlinson, *Chaldea*, p. 73.

of his having had any temple in Chaldea."[16] Finally a story from Plutarch may serve as an instance in point: the great Timoleon († 337), at the end of his remarkable military career, "would write to his friends in Corinth, and in the speeches he made to the people of Syracuse would say, that he was thankful *unto God,* who, designing to save Sicily, was pleased to honor him with the name and title of the deliverance he vouchsafed it." But did Timoleon render homage to that Being to whose agency he attributed all the glory of his career? "Having built a chapel in his house, he there sacrificed *to Good Luck,* as a deity that had favored him, and devoted the house itself *to the Sacred Genius!*"

The relevancy of these and similar instances, their bearing upon the matter under consideration, is evident. They must certainly be admitted as proof for the presence, in the natural mind, of that knowledge concerning an all-powerful Creator, different in essence from the divinities of mythology, who received no worship though he overshadowed the entire religious life of man, — a knowledge which would reassert itself whenever the fabric of myth and superstition was shaken by imminent danger and sudden misfortune, and whenever the mind would dwell upon the workings of that eternal Power in the phenomena of sky, earth, and sea, and in the lives of men.

The instances cited above, however, merely serve to show the *presence* of such knowledge. It is to the literature of Greece that we must look for proof of its depth, intensity, and extent. At a time when the Hellenic mind, to all appearances, still regarded the gods of its Aryan inheritance as actually existent, monotheistic views found emphatic expression in the so-called Orphic hymns. The question of authorship need not detain us here. It is well agreed that these hymns are relics of a very early age.[17] We have space only for a few extracts. Compare

16) Wegener, *Hist. of the Christian Church in the Society Islands.* Berlin, 1844. p. 158.

17) See Mullachius, *Fragm. Phil. Graec. ante Soor.*, vol. I, p. 162 sqq. Ruhnken says (*Ep. Crit.* II, 69): "Scriptor certe est vetustissimus. Ne

the traditional ideas concerning the Hellenic Zeus with the tenor of the following lines:

"He (Zeus) is One, Self-created; by One all things are fashioned;
In them he moves (περινίσσεται); none among mortals
Has seen him; but He sees them all." (*Hymn. Orph.* 1, 8 sq.)

And who is this One? μοῦνος κόσμοιο ἄναξ — the One ruler of the universe. Of him it is said, v. 13: "Nor is there another besides this great Ruler;" and the sky is called "the work of the great and wise God."

St. Paul, in his oration on Mars Hill, reminded the Athenians[18] of that which "some of their own poets had said, 'For we are also his offspring.'" The author in question is Cleanthes, and the poem cited by St. Paul is a hymn to Zeus: "Mightiest of the immortals, *known by many names,* ever almighty, Zeus, author of the universe, ruling all things by Thy law, hail to Thee; all men may address Thee, for we are all Thine offspring." Shall we suppose that Cleanthes had in mind the profligate tyrant of Olympus, the Don Juan of mythology, whom Aristophanes considered "ridiculous to the knowing ones" (Clouds, v. 1240)? It is in distinct reference to the "Author" of this quotation that St. Paul says, "For in *Him*" [the Lord, v. 27] "we live, and move, and have our being, as certain also of your poets have said: For we are also *his* offspring."[19] All of which proves that the divine Essence, the "author of the universe," occasionally was in the mind of the writers *where the undiscerning reader sees merely a reference to the popular divinities.* "One in essence, he has many names," says Aristotle,[20] "which are given him according to his operations." And since the original (Aryan) character of Zeus exhibited several divine attributes in a high degree, the name

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ullum quidem recentioris aetatis vestigium per totum poema reperies. Dictio fere est Homerica."

18) Additional proof of the wide dissemination of such doctrines *among the common people.*

19) Acts 17, 28.

20) *De mundo* 7, 1: Εἷς ὢν, πολυώνυμός ἐστι, κτλ. Similarly, God is defined as πολυώνυμος δύναμις by Secundus, § 3.

was applied to the God of all gods in an attempt to supply the lack of an unequivocal term. He is "Father of gods and men" in Homer,[21] and "the greatest of the gods" in Hesiod,[22] and as such he is represented generally in the mythology of Greece. Naturally, then, his name was applied to the divine Being whose existence was recognized in nature and in the life of man. Hence Pindar[23] calls him simply "the Father," in Arianus[24] he is identified with ὁ θεός, by the Roman Ennius,[25] with the "Creator of all things," and by Valerius Soranus[26] he is termed

> Juppiter omnipotens, rerum regumque repertor,
> progenitor genitrixque deum, *deus unus et idem.*

Thus Cicero[27] identifies "summus Jupiter" with "coelum atque terras tuens et regens deus," and Seneca[28] says that the Jupiter of the early Etruscans "was *not he whom we adore* on the Capitoline hill, but he whom *also we recognize*[29] in Jupiter — the ruler and guardian of the universe, the mind and spirit of the world, the lord and creator of this work, *to whom every name applies.* . . . He is the cause of causes; by his breath we live."

St. Augustine repeatedly refers to this phase of the ethnic systems of theology. He recognizes the doctrine of one God in the mythological vocabulary of ancient Rome and Greece. "The multitude of names does not prove a multitude of divinities,"[30] and he specifies particularly the case of "Jupiter." "All of these gods and goddesses are the one Jupiter, representing either his parts or his attributes,"[31] in fact, "Jupiter" is the universe (mundus)[32] in which God has revealed Himself to the pagan nations or, as Seneca has it, "Vis illum [Jovem]

21) Though *Odyss.* 14, 444 sq., has clearly θεός = God.
22) *Theogonia* 44, 71, 885, and elsewhere.
23) *Olymp.* II, 49.
24) *Dissert.* I, 3, quoting Epictetus.
25) Quoted by Varro, *de L. L.*, V. 71.
26) Augustinus, *De Civ. Dei*, VII, 9.
27) *De Legg.* II, 9. 10. 28) *Natur. Quest.* II, 45.
29) Note that Seneca includes himself among those who worship the traditional god, while he recognizes Another in the works of nature.
30) *De Civ. Dei* VII, 24. 31) l. c. IV, 11. 32) l. c. VII, 16.

'naturam' vocare, non peccabis: hic est, ex quo nata sunt omnia, cuius spiritu vivimus; vis illum vocare *'mundum,'* non falleris: ipse est enim . . . et se sustinens et sua," [33] for he says,[34] "Tot appellationes ei possunt esse, quot munera" — as many names as he has activities.

We have here presented only such passages as may be said to exhibit without ambiguity or vagueness a cognition of God the Creator and Preserver of all things, a cognition (or intuition) which occasionally sought expression in terms (Zeus, Jupiter) long sacred to the ancient mind. That these appellations, in the instances cited, are emptied of all mythological meaning and are deliberately and designedly applied to a Being conceived as infinitely greater than the popular gods and goddesses, is evident to every reader; the statements are too definite and explicit in character to permit any other construction; when Hermesianax[35] says:

> Pluto, Persephone, Demeter, Kypris, Erotes,
> Artemis, and the protector Apollo — *εἷς θεός ἐστι* —

the monotheistic views of the writer and the supersession of traditional terms are equally apparent. From out the shattered structure of classical mythology, allegory, and legend,[36] the recognition of a personal Creator, of his "eternal power and Godhead," rose to assert itself in the consciousness of the Roman and the Greek. They possessed "the truth," but "held it in unrighteousness;" "knowing God, they worshiped Him not as God," but continued to adore the gods upon Olympus, and erected shrines to "Good Luck" and to the "Genius," or — as in the case of the Stoics — for the knowledge so clearly conceived and expressed, substituted a pantheistic theory of God and the world. "To be an equal of God, *and not a worshiper*

33) *Nat. Quest.* II, 45, 3. 34) *De benefic.* IV, 7.

35) Quoted by Villoison, *Theol. Phys. Stoic.*, p. 505. Villoison demonstrates the existence of undeniably monotheistic conceptions as attaching to such expressions as *μοῖρα*, fatum, *αἰτία*, necessitas, fortuna, ratio, anima mundi, and many others. They all "represent that which we call God." (p. 499, op. cit.)

36) "Hallucinationes;" Seneca, *De Vita Beata*, ch. 26.

(non supplex)," was the *summum bonum* of Seneca; "to rise an equal to God," the end and aim of his system.[37]

St. Paul says that God had made of one blood all the nations of the earth and appointed the bounds of their habitation, "that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might — *ψηλαφήσειαν* — find him *by groping about* [with outstretched hands];"[38] but more than this was vouchsafed the dwellers in ancient Greece. What little remains of their literary productions fairly abounds in passages which illustrate the wonderful insight they possessed into the nature of the Divine Essence. So great is the number of passages which explicitly express a knowledge of the Creator and of His attributes, — a knowledge sometimes divested, it seems, of all polytheistic reminiscences, — that we occasionally are on the point of losing sight of the idolatrous practices and superstitions of the writers, as members of a people which offered up sacrifice and prayer to "images of corruptible man" at a thousand shrines. This remarkable clarity of religious intuition may be equally observed in the works of the poets, philosophers, and historians, more especially, however, in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Pindar, Demosthenes, Xenophon, of the pre-Socratic philosophers, and of the dramatists.

There is no longer any trace of the mythic element in the following specimen — selected from the Orphic hymns:[39]

"Not one of mortal men might see the Ruler (*κραίνοντα*)
Except an only-begotten one (*μονογενής τις*), a descendant, from above (*ἀπορρὼξ ἀνωθεν*),
Of the Chaldean race."

The author of these lines lived possibly six hundred, certainly not less than three hundred years before Christ. Of the "Ruler" v. 15 said, "There is no other," and in v. 9 he is spoken of as "the immortal maker (*τυπωτής*) of the world," of whom there

37) *Epist. 31:* "Par deo surges!" Similar expressions are numerous both in the *Epistles* and in the treatises.

38) Homer has the word (*Od.* IX, 416), when speaking of blind Cyclops in the cave.

39) II, 22.

is "an ancient report" (λόγος). The lines are in every way remarkable. Whom did the ancient poet have in mind when he spoke of "the only-begotten one of the Ruler; a descendant, from on high, of the Chaldeans"? The coincidence of "Chaldean people" with the fact that Chaldea was the original home of Israel, need hardly be pointed out.

There are passages in the writings of Plato which are quite as mysterious in their consonance with revealed truth. Concerning the work of Creation we read that "the father, having created [the Cosmos], was delighted (ἠγάσθη);"[40] "God intended to create everything good and nothing evil."[41] The traditional cosmogony has been definitely given up by the author. The world is created "by the word of the everlasting God,"[42] who is still "the preserver of us men,"[43] and who shall finally "liberate us from our body."[44] The existence of One God, of a *personal* God, is here taken for granted, as generally in Plato, and the simple term ὁ θεός is applied to him, whom others still sought to recognize in the nature and attributes of Zeus.

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(To be continued.)

SHEOL PASSAGES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Any attempt to fix the meaning of the Hebrew term שְׁאוֹל (שְׁאֵל, שְׁאֹלָה) seems destined to end in failure in view of the many divergent views that have been advanced by lexicographers, translators, and exegetes as regards the derivation of this term, or its general signification, or its meaning in particular instances. To adduce only one example, and one that must at once strike Lutheran pastors who are using both the German and the English version of the Scriptures in their ministrations: there is no agreement between Luther's trans-

40) *Timaios* 37 C., cf. Genesis 1, 25. 31.
41) *Timaios* 30 A. 42) ib. 34 B. 43) *Phaidon* 62 D.
44) ib. 67 A: ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀπολύσῃ ἡμᾶς.

lation of sheol and that of the Authorized Version. There is a further difference between the Authorized Version and the Revised Version. In a total of sixty-five places where sheol occurs in the Old Testament, Luther renders this term "Hölle" in all places except four: Gen. 37, 35; 42, 38; 44, 29. 31. The two English versions give the same rendering for this term in twenty-five passages, but a different rendering in thirty-nine, and in one passage the Revised Version leaves the reader the option between its own rendering or that of the Authorized Version. The latter renders sheol, or its derived forms, by "grave" thirty-nine times, by "pit" three times, by "hell" thirty times, and by "deep" once. The Revised Version renders "grave" fifteen times, "pit" six times, "hell" twelve times, "depth" once, leaves the reader the option between "hell" or "grave" in one place, and in the thirty places remaining it has reproduced the Hebrew שְׁאוֹל by the transliteration sheol without attempting a translation, which amounts to saying that the English language, in the opinion of the Revisers, has no equivalent that will adequately express the Hebrew שְׁאוֹל in nearly one-half the passages in which the term occurs. As regards the signification "grave," both versions agree in fifteen places;[1] but differ in sixteen, the Revised Version rendering "sheol" instead of "grave" in fourteen,[2] and "hell" instead of "grave" in two places.[3] Both versions agree as to the signification "pit" in two places,[4] but differ in one,[5] where the Revised prefers "sheol." The signification "hell" has been adopted by both versions in ten passages,[6] but in fifteen passages[7] "hell" in the

1) Gen. 37, 35; 42, 38; 44, 29. 31. 1 Sam. 2, 6. 1 Kings 2, 6. 9. Ps. 141, 7. Prov. 30, 16. Eccl. 9, 10. Song Sol. 8, 6. Is. 38, 10. 18. Hos. 13, 14 (twice).

2) Job 7, 9; 14, 13; 17, 13; 21, 13; 24, 19. Ps. 6, 5; 30, 3; 31, 17; 49, 14 (twice) 15; 88, 3; 89, 48. Prov. 1, 12.

3) Is. 14, 11. Ezek. 31, 15.

4) Numb. 16, 30. 33.

5) Job 17, 16.

6) Is. 5, 14; 28, 15. 18; 57, 9. Ezek. 31, 16. 17; 32, 21. 27. Amos 9, 2. Hab. 2, 5.

7) 2 Sam. 22, 6. Job 11, 8; 26, 6. Ps. 9, 17; 16, 10; 18, 5; 116, 3; 139, 8. Prov. 5, 5; 7, 27; 9, 18; 15, 11. 24; 23, 14; 27, 20.

Authorized has been supplanted in the Revised by "sheol," in four passages[8] by "pit," and in one passage[9] either "hell" or "grave" are given as the meaning. The Revised Version's "depth" supplants the Authorized Version's "deep" in Jonah 2, 3.

It may be of moment also to note that the Authorized gives the rendering "grave" in writings as early as Moses and as late as Hosea, the rendering "hell" or "pit" in writings as early as Moses and as late as Habakkuk. In the Revised the rendering "hell" occurs for the first time in Is. 5, 14, and the rendering "pit" only in five passages earlier than Isaiah: Numb. 16, 30. 33. Deut. 32, 22. Ps. 55, 15; 86, 13. The rendering "sheol" in the Revised occurs only in three books, Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, and in one other place, 2 Sam. 22, 6, which, however, is a strict parallel of Ps. 18, 5.

Such is the state of affairs in our English Bibles as regards the present knowledge of Hebrew scholars of the exact meaning of שְׁאוֹל. Incidentally it might be remarked, that if greater clearness was the object of the Revised, it has certainly failed of its purpose in this instance, as its rendering obscures the meaning of thirty passages which are easily understood in the Authorized, granting even that the Authorized has not exactly rendered them. As a net result, then, of this surface investigation of the matter in hand, it might be stated that the two English versions are partially agreed, viz., to this effect: that שְׁאוֹל means "hell" or "pit" in one group of passages, and that it means "grave" in another group. They are divided as to its meaning in a third group, the Authorized claiming that it means either "hell" ("pit," "deep") or "grave," the Revised claiming that it means neither "hell" nor "grave" but "sheol," whatever that may import. Or we may briefly state the difference thus: The Authorized believes that שְׁאוֹל signifies "hell" or "grave," while the Revised believes that it may signify either or something that is neither.

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8) Deut. 32, 22. Ps. 55, 15; 86, 13. Is. 14, 15. 9) Is. 14, 9.

Philological research directed toward the origin of this term has yielded small results that can be of use to the Old Testament exegete. Gesenius declared the derivation of שְׁאוֹל uncertain, and regarded the effort to connect it with an Arabic term denoting to settle, or to form a sediment, like impure water, as far-fetched.[10] Hupfeld, cited approvingly by Cremer,[11] holds that it belongs to a family of words which have the letter ל in common (שׁאל, שׁול, שׁלה, שׁלל, נשׁל, and others), and all of which express in one way or other the idea of looseness (lack of erectness), sinking, yawning, either these acts or the results of these acts; hence שְׁאוֹל either means declivity, abyss, depth, or cavern, chasm, void space. Luther's derivation from שָׁלָה, to demand (hence, signifying the place which continually craves victims, the insatiable place), based on Prov. 27, 20 and 30, 15. 16, is well known.

To return to our Bible versions, what prompted our English translators (and in one instance, affecting four passages above cited, even Luther) to vary the translation of this term so frequently? There must have been some strong reason which decided them to render "hell" in one and "grave" in another instance. And this reason must lie in the respective text. The circumstances in the text, surrounding this term, its connection, in other words, the context, must have seemed to them to forbid one or the other rendering. This would explain, though it might not justify, their action. A correct understanding, then, of the context in which sheol is found would seem to be nine-tenths of the labor of determining its intended and actual meaning.

It is safe to say that a single circumstance has caused the consistent rendering of "hell" for the Hebrew sheol to appear inadmissible: sheol in the Old Testament is also a place to which godly persons expect to go in the hour of death. In his passionate grief over the loss of Joseph Jacob exclaims: "I will go down into sheol unto my son mourning," Gen. 37, 35. He supposes Joseph to be in sheol, and that, dying of broken heart,

10) *Woerterb.*, sub voce. 11) *Woerterb.*, sub Ἀιδης.

he will soon join him there. (Comp. Gen. 42, 38.) And when Jacob's sons repeat these words of their father to Joseph, Gen. 44, 39. 41, they are not merely citing his language, but expressing their own fears, as the earnest pleading of Judah shows. Job, as the gloom of despair is settling upon him, cries out to God: "O that Thou wouldest hide me in sheol!" Job 14, 13. Again: "If I wait, sheol is mine house," ch. 17, 13. Unless these holy men, both believers in the Messiah and of tried faith, are regarded as momentarily lapsed from their accustomed conduct in the fear of God and as imprecating destruction upon themselves in a sinful passion, it seems impossible to interpret their mention of sheol as a reference to hell in the accepted meaning of that term.

Cremer mentions another reason why sheol cannot mean hell: "Sheol receives *all* the dead."[12] He cites as proof the passages in Genesis already quoted and 1 Sam. 2, 6; 28, 19. 1 Kings 2, 6. 9. Ps. 89, 48. Hab. 2, 5. An examination of these passages shows that the assertion involves an inference which may not be warranted. 1 Sam. 2, 6 is from Hannah's song: "The Lord killeth and maketh alive; He bringeth down to sheol, and bringeth up." These words describe in poetic imagery the deliverance of a believer from despair. Hannah had not been literally killed and brought down to sheol. Nor was there an instance known to her in which a dead person had returned from sheol. In 1 Sam. 28, 19 the word sheol does not occur at all. The text is a part of the speech which the apparition addressed to Saul at the house of the woman at En-dor before the battle of Gilboa. 1 Kings 2, 6. 9 contains David's order to Solomon to mete out justice to murderous Joab and to blasphemous Shimei. Ps. 89, 48 is spoken in a connection where a believer deprecates God's anger which for a season is visited upon His faithful. Finally, Hab. 2, 5 speaks of the person who "transgresseth by wine, a proud man, . . . who enlargeth his desire as sheol." Against this person the prophet denounces woe and damnation. These passages, then, must not

12) *Woerterb.*, sub voce ᾅδης, p. 79.

necessarily prove that "sheol receives *all* the dead," but they do prove that sheol receives the wicked, such as are taken away in God's anger.

There remain, then, the passages in Genesis, Job, and a few in the Psalms which do not seem to admit the rendering of "hell" for sheol. It would be hasty to determine from these passages the meaning of sheol in all other passages. Careful investigation requires that judgment be suspended as regards these passages until all the other passages have been looked into.

Sheol occurs in four places as a designation of locality, distinct from earth and in contrast with heaven. Job 11, 7. 8: "Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than sheol; what canst thou know?" Ps. 139, 8: "If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there: if I make my bed in sheol, behold, Thou art there." Prov. 15, 24: "The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from sheol beneath." Amos 9, 2: "Though they dig into sheol, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down." To render sheol by "grave" in these passages would not only be manifest bathos, but as regards the passage in Proverbs it would be absolutely meaningless.

In twenty-one places sheol is described as a place beneath, very far beneath the earth, and those who go to sheol go downward. Gen. 37, 35: "I will go down into sheol;" 42, 38; 44, 29. 31: "Then shall ye bring my gray hairs with sorrow to sheol;" Numb. 16, 30: "They go down quick" (*i. e.*, alive) "into sheol" (comp. v. 33); Deut. 32, 22: "the lowest sheol." Comp. Ps. 86, 13, etc.

Sheol is the place where the judgment of God and His dire vengeance overtakes the evildoers. Korah's rebel band went down to sheol, Numb. 16, 30, and all the congregation of Israel witnessed this shocking spectacle. The event was recorded for future generations. If an Israelite in later years was asked: What became of Korah? would he have said: He was buried? To froward Israel, to people who provoke God with their vani-

ties is held up for their warning a fiery sheol, Deut. 32, 22: "A fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest sheol." They that "take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ," that "spend their days in wealth," go down to sheol in a moment, Job 21, 13. Sheol "consumes" those which have sinned, Job 24, 19. Sheol and abaddon (hell and destruction) are joined in the same statement: Job 26, 6. Prov. 15, 11; 27, 20. "The wicked shall be turned into sheol," Ps. 9, 17; in sheol they are made to be ashamed and silent, Ps. 31, 17. Against his wicked and treacherous enemies David prays: "Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into sheol" (יֵרְדוּ שְׁאוֹל חַיִּים). Those children of Belial who are enticing the son of the God-fearing to join them in their evil-doings are impersonating death and sheol, Prov. 1, 12. Sheol is the place for harlots, Prov. 5, 5; 7, 27; 9, 18. Beating a stubborn child with the rod will not cause him to die, but it will deliver his soul from sheol, Prov. 23, 13. 14. Scenes from sheol, full of awful grandeur, are depicted by the prophets. "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them! And the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of His hands. Therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge; and their honorable men are famished, and their multitude dried up with thirst. *Therefore sheol hath enlarged herself,* and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it," Is. 5, 11—14. Does the prophet merely predict premature death to the roués of his nation? The prophet describes the proud Babylonian's entrance into sheol: "Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones" (עַתּוּדֵי, lit. great goats, bell-wethers) "of the earth; it has raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee: Art thou also become weak as we?

Art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is brought down to sheol, and the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread under thee, and worms cover thee. How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hadst said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to sheol, to the sides of the pit," Is. 14, 9—15. A like fate is predicted for the Assyrian, Ezek. 31, 15—17, the Egyptian, 32, 21. 27, and the Chaldean tyrants, Hab. 2, 5. The apostate Jews in the days of Isaiah had rooted up from their hearts all regard for God and heaven, and were bragging that they had a covenant with death and an agreement with sheol, Is. 28, 15. The prophet tells them that their agreement shall not stand; they shall be humbled in sheol, v. 18. In sheol there is no praise, no celebration (= worship), no hope for the truth of God, Is. 38, 18.

In Hos. 13, 14 there is a promise of God's mercy that Ephraim's sin is hid, and that the Lord will ransom him from the power of sheol and from death. This passage is quoted by St. Paul 1 Cor. 15, 55 and is interpreted as referring to the victory of Christ over death and the grave (ᾅδη). While in Ps. 16, 10 Christ is represented as victorious over sheol and corruption, He is here shown as the conqueror of death and the entire realm of death, the prince or power of sheol.

In all these passages what else is meant by sheol than what Christians are wont to call hell, the place and the condition or state of the damned?

It is in keeping with this meaning when Old Testament saints describe great afflictions, tribulations of soul as a temporary sojourn in sheol. Hannah praises the Lord, because He has brought her out of sheol, has revived her spirit, gladdened her heart that had been dead to hope, made her to taste His loving-kindness from which she had felt herself excluded, like

those whom God has abandoned in sheol. David makes frequent complaint that the sorrows of sheol, the snares of death, floods of ungodly men (נַחֲלֵי בְלִיָּעַל, *i. e.*, rivers of perdition; Luther: "Bäche Belials") encompassed him, 2 Sam. 22, 6. Ps. 18, 5; 88, 3; 116, 3. Jonah in the fish's belly cries as "out of the belly of sheol." Such painful experiences of saints during their earthly life are readily understood by Christians: the sensation of God's anger which at times seizes believers is a veritable foretaste of hell.

We return to those passages where the believers of old connect their death with a descent into sheol, and which seem, therefore, to represent sheol as the common goal of all mortals: Job 7, 9; 14, 13; 17, 13. 16. Gen. 37, 35, etc. In some of these passages the impression is made as if the writer regards sheol as a place of rest which mortals should desire. Sheol is indicated, though it is not named, in passages like the following: Job 3, 17—19: "There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary be at rest. There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor. The small and great are there; and the servant is free from his master." Job 10, 20—22: "Let me alone, that I may take comfort a little, before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." Ps. 88, 10—12: "Wilt Thou show wonders to the dead? shall the dead arise and praise Thee? shall Thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave? or Thy faithfulness in destruction? shall Thy wonders be known in the dark? and Thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" Ps. 115, 17: "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence."

It is plain from these passages that Scripture recognizes and describes a state of death, a state of the departed, and that occasionally it employs the term sheol to designate this state. Now, there is a well-known connection between death and damnation, between the grave and hell. Both are punitive

measures of divine justice against the sinner. Death begins, damnation completes, the execution of God's wrath. Damnation is another form of death, the second death, the death without end. Accordingly, death and sheol are named in the very closest connection: Ps. 89, 48. Eccl. 9, 10. Song Sol. 8, 6. Job 17, 16 ("They shall go down to the bars of sheol, when our rest together is in the dust"). Ps. 6, 5; 16, 10 (sheol and corruption), etc. *All* must die, because *all* have sinned. For the same reason *all* have merited damnation. Mortality and eternal destruction are the common lot of men, the grave and hell their common goal. By His plan of redemption God has not abolished death and hell; He has provided an escape from eternal death. But His believers also die and, dying, receive the wages of sin. Those who pass through death into life eternal are known absolutely to Him alone. To our mortal vision even the Christian's death, though we are assured that it is gain to him, is a fearful thing. In external aspect it does not differ from the death of other men. And now observe this endless dying from generation to generation! Like a vast river the stream of humanity is rolling onward to the mouth of the grave and the pit. How many out of the millions that put out into that unknown sea are met by the Pilot at the bar! The passing away of the great majority means their entering damnation. The narrow way leading upward is known and trodden only by a few. These few are as a drop in the ocean compared to their brethren who are downward bound. They disappear in the mass. It does look as if all mankind dying went to hell.

In a general way, then, any person's entering the realm of death may be called his descent into sheol, namely, in so far as he dies, passes from the land of the living, *his fate beyond not being specially taken into account.* In this sense going down to sheol is predicated of holy men, or of all men. The holy writers in such passages refer to what appears to human eyes. And it accords with such a view of sheol to represent it as a state in which there is "no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom," Eccl. 9, 10.

Thus understood, sheol may be rendered by grave, provided grave be not understood as a person's sepulcher or burying place, but in the general meaning of region or place of the dead. The Hebrew language has a special word for sepulcher, קֶבֶר.[13]) A person's queber can be located, it is dug or built or made, it is touched by living people, but none of these things are ever predicated of sheol. Queber occurs in the plural, sheol never.

In view of this difference, would it not be desirable to find for sheol, whenever it is used in a more general meaning, a different rendering than "grave"? It certainly would be; but to transliterate שְׁאוֹל into sheol is no improvement. In the first place, it is meaningless to the average Bible reader. If שְׁאוֹל were not linked so often with מָוֶת, death, we should suggest the latter meaning for it as more suitable than grave to distinguish it from queber. To render it by corruption or decay would weaken its force, and besides the Hebrew שַׁחַת properly expresses that idea. All things considered, we see no serious objection to rendering שְׁאוֹל by hell as Luther has done in 61 places, though he certainly was conscious that in some places the rendering was somewhat strong. After all, שְׁאוֹל *is* hell in the majority of Old Testament passages.

In the second place, we should decline the use of the transliterated term sheol because it has become the badge of heresy. Out of the comparatively unimportant circumstance that שְׁאוֹל may at times not mean hell strictly so called, but state of the departed, a very elaborate theory has been constructed. We are told that the believers under the first covenant had received no revelation that a heavenly life would begin for them immediately after death; that, accordingly, an intermediate state between life on earth and life in heaven was provided for them, and that this state was sheol. Here believers and unbelievers alike were confined until the hour of Christ's resurrection. However, they are represented as having been kept in two different sections of

13) Gen. 23, 4. Ex. 14, 11. Numb. 19, 16. Deut. 9, 22. Judges 8, 32. 1 Sam. 10, 2. 1 Kings 13, 22. Job 3, 22. Ps. 5, 10. Eccl. 6, 3. Is. 22, 16. Ezek. 39, 11, and many others.

sheol, the believers in one, which afforded them some of the pleasures of the heavenly life, the unbelievers in another, which was a dismal place. At the resurrection of Christ the occupants of the first section were transferred to heaven, so that this section is now vacant, while the occupants of the other section are said to be still confined until the day of judgment, when they will be transferred to the real hell. We shall examine this view more closely in a future article. Suffice it to say here, that in no passage in the Old Testament is there the least indication that the dwellers in sheol are enjoying bliss, joy, comfort such as the saints in heaven receive. There is no feature of paradise connected with sheol. Besides, it is a bold assertion that the patriarchs and prophets did not know that through death they entered heaven forthwith. D.

ORATION[1)]

AT THE

Dedication of the New College Building for Concordia College at Fort Wayne, Ind., September 10, 1905.

Motto: "Earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." Jude 3.

BELOVED LUTHERANS, ESTEEMED FRIENDS: —

The honorable privilege has been accorded me to address you on this festal occasion in the language of our country. I gladly greet you in behalf of the honorable Board of Directors of Concordia College, in behalf of the venerable Faculty of this institution, yea, in behalf of our whole Synod, for whom this is a day of the warmest congratulations. We are met from near and far to-day to witness the dedication of this stately building, a grand addition to our beloved Concordia.

1) Since the publication of the *Homiletic Magazine* was begun, it is not customary to publish sermons and addresses in the THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY. The present oration is offered not as homiletical material, but as a statement of doctrine made on an historic occasion. — ED.

Colleges are institutions for instruction in the liberal arts, to prepare young men for professional pursuits. Such preparation is necessary as a basis for whatsoever profession one would enter. Therefore the world builds and maintains colleges, and the Church builds colleges and maintains them. Both are in need of these training schools; for without them neither the secular avocations nor the offices of the Church can be supplied with competent incumbents, and thus the very existence of both is placed in jeopardy. Every new college is heralded by the world with joy and felicitations. And the Church? In the same proportion as the Church and its work rises above this sordid world and its mad chase after vanities, our joy and our prayerful congratulations to the glory of God rise above the felicitations of the world when by His grace we are permitted to open a new or to enlarge an old institution for higher education, and thus add to its sphere of influence in the work of the Church. To impress this upon you is my mission to-day.

I shall base my remarks on the words of Holy Writ in the 3d verse of the Epistle of Jude: "Earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." In the spirit issuing forth from this divine exhortation let me address you on the subject so forcibly brought to our attention to-day, to-wit:

OUR SYNOD'S INSTITUTIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION.

1. Their preeminent part in the work of Synod.

2. Our fostering care of them a paramount duty.

1.

In order to fully appreciate the preeminent part which our educational institutions take in the work of our Synod, we must understand the nature of this work. The work of our Synod, however, is conditioned and determined by the very character of the Synod itself. What, then, is the character of our Synod? What does it aim at? What is, so to speak, its life work?

When, in 1847, the sainted fathers of our Synod met in the city of Chicago, and organized the German Evangelical

Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States, it was at a time when rationalism was rioting in the Church; when the doctrinal standards of the fathers had become unknown to the children; when scores of professedly Lutheran ministers scarcely knew the Lutheran Confessions even by name; at a time, therefore, when there was abundant room for a truly Lutheran church body, which not by name only, but by its every practice endorsed and enacted the doctrines of Luther and the Lutheran church. Filled with the Spirit of God and burning with compassion for the great distress of the Church, a handful of congregations and pastors, under the leadership of a Walther, a Wyneken, a Sihler, a Craemer, banded themselves together to stand in the world and before the Church upon that old but tried platform of "God's Word and Luther's doctrine pure." The doctrinal basis of Synod was laid down in these two principles: 1) That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the written Word of God, and the sole rule and norm of faith and life; and 2) that the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran church are the pure and undefiled interpretation and exposition of the divine Word, and emphasizing justification by God's grace, for Christ's sake, through faith only, as the central doctrine of the Christian faith.

This character of Synod, however, was not to appear only on paper, it was to manifest itself clearly and undeniably in Synod's every word and work. In defining its purpose of organization and the ends that were to be attained, the framers of our Synodal Constitution mapped out the following program. Leaving intact the freedom of the churches and recognizing only the congregational principle of organization, with a free and equal suffrage for the pastors and lay representatives, the chief aims of Synod were to be, after the example of the apostolic church, the preservation and promotion of unity and purity in doctrine; the warding off of separatistic and sectarian influences; the defense of the rights and duties of pastors and congregations; uniformity in church government; united mission work. No quarters were to be given to confessions with

reserve, to syncretism, to a hired ministry, to adulterated books in church or school.

Behold, "contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," in accordance with this exhortation our fathers shaped the character of our Synod, from this they developed its program. And through 58 years it has remained the same in character and in purpose. Yes, my friends, there is no such a thing as an Old and a New Missouri, as some would have it. 'Tis true, our sainted fathers have gone to their reward, and a new generation has stepped into their heritage; but by the grace of God we have kept the heritage intact. 'Tis true, the body of Synod has grown, but the spirit which determines the character and the actions of the body — thanks to God — is the same. We to-day stand upon the same platform with our fathers: "God's Word and Luther's doctrine pure." It never has been our ambition to bring forth something new to enlighten the world. We have no faith in modern evolution theories. Our highest ambition is to be obedient to the injunction, "Keep that which is committed to thy trust." Hence, with our fathers we maintain, that Holy Writ is the inspired Word of God and therefore the only source of sound doctrine unto salvation, the only rule for faith and life. With our fathers we triumphantly hold aloft the glorious Confessions of our Church, marching victoriously onward with their sweetest of all messages, the justification of a poor sinner by God's grace, for Christ's sake, through faith alone. With our fathers that faith is ours in every article which was once delivered unto the saints. — And because of this, as the fathers', so our work is that of *contending* for the faith. Yea, we will know of no other program. That is our life work. If ever the day should come (which God forbid!) when our Synod would for the sake of expediency drop this program, it then would have outlived its usefulness, it would have forfeited its very right of existence, and would deserve that its name go down to oblivion.

But you ask, Have you, standing upon such a platform and with such a program, achieved anything? My friends, there

were those, even in high places, who predicted an early death for Missouri. Nevertheless, what is the record of our beloved Synod to-day? God, in His goodness, has crowned her with success far beyond all understanding. Search the history of the Church, you will not find another example that will compare with the fruits borne by Missouri's staunch adherence to the Word of God and the Confessions of the Lutheran church. The small band which first organized Synod, and whose number you can count almost on the fingertips of both hands, was multiplied so greatly that to-day Synod numbers over 1700 ministers with more than 2300 congregations.

But, lest you think me vainglorious, let me not speak further of the success of our work, let me rather ask, How was this phenomenal success attained? I mean, by what human agencies was it made possible? I answer, By the men, God-given and God-sent, and reared in Synod's institutions. Credit, indeed, great credit, is due to those good men who, reared in the universities of the Fatherland, crossed the sea and, by God's grace having found their spiritual home in the synodal house of Missouri, sacrificed themselves for the weal of their beloved Church in this western hemisphere. But a preeminent part in the work of Synod and a superabundant share in its success is due to our institutions, such as we are dedicating to-day. Or tell me, what would, what could Synod have accomplished without these training schools? Not much. As one of the first needs, next to the purity of doctrine, our fathers recognized schools, colleges, and seminaries. Schools in each individual congregation, to rear its young in the saving faith; colleges, to fit young men for the study of such professions as require the foundation of a solid education and a wide range of knowledge, above all for that most blessed life vocation, the ministry in the Church; hence also seminaries in which men might become duly qualified for the ministry by being thoroughly grounded in true, sound Lutheran theology. And thanks be to God, that, with our fathers, to recognize a need meant to supply it. No sooner were these congregations organized on this free American soil

than the instruction of the young was taken in hand, by the pastors themselves, where necessary, or by parochial school-teachers, where these were available. And no sooner had it dawned upon our fathers what an awful calamity the dearth of approved ministers and teachers would be for the church, than they set to work to avert such a calamity. The tourist will yet find, on the right bank of the Mississippi, down in Perry County, Mo., the old log cabin built in 1839 by the professors and some friends, with their own hands, in which our first higher institution of learning was born and reared, and from which have sprung our Concordia Seminary at St. Louis and the Concordia College in whose halls we are assembled to-day. And with the growth of our Synod the growth of its institutions has kept pace, until to-day we have two seminaries, five colleges, and two normal institutions. From these have gone forth bands upon bands of workmen in the vineyard of the Lord; ministers and teachers united in one faith, indoctrinated under the leadership of men noted the wide world over for their staunch Lutheranism, imbued with the spirit to sacrifice their all in the service of their Savior. Night and day, rain or shine, in season and out of season, have they hewn and grubbed, ploughed and sown, cultivated and watered with the Word of God in the acre of the world, until by the rich blessings of the Lord the harvest has become what it is to-day. But not only they. We to-day meet doctors and lawyers, men in every Christian profession, who gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to our Concordia for the solid foundation to their professions; men who not only stand high in their respective communities, but who, true to the faith, are also pillars of the church in their respective congregations.

Yes, my friends, not a theory, but a fact, a solid, a glorious fact it is, that the part of our institutions for higher education in the work of our Synod is a preeminent one. With the expansion of Synod's field of operation and with the corresponding increase of its work the influence of our institutions constantly grew vaster and deeper, next to God, through the men

issuing forth from them, men, one in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Word, one in the Confessions of our beloved Lutheran Zion, one in the love of God and their fellowmen.

2.

And now, my friends, if history counts for aught, can we, dare we, in the face of past experiences, neglect these our institutions for higher education? What must be our attitude towards them? Certainly one of a *fostering care.* Yea, that is *a paramount duty.*

It is a commonplace, an everyday truth, that to insure success it is necessary to make the help adequate to the need, the supply to the demand. What, in the business of the world, is the part of wisdom becomes a paramount duty in the business of the Church. "Earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," this is the business of the Church. Next to standing in the true faith, Christians have no work more important than to contend in their allotted sphere for the faith. And to do this in the most efficient manner, this is the very business with which the whole work of our Synod must be identified. Now, look over the vast field of action where we must contend for the faith. It comprises every state of the Union, and British America, and Brazil, and, beyond the seas, Germany, India, and Australia. Try to form an idea of the demands made upon us. They come from hundreds of congregations in need of competent teachers of the faith, from scores of missions demanding tried and proven officers in the vanguard against the hosts of darkness. And do not forget that, being so large a body, in the political community of our country, it behooves us to "seek the peace of the city" (Jer. 29, 7), to further the welfare of our country to the full extent of our large abilities and immense opportunities. And if I now ask you, Where are we to take the men from in answer to the ever-growing cries for pastors at home and abroad? Where shall we look for missionaries who will carry forth the light of eternal life? Where shall our young men go in these days of unbelief

and denial for sound instruction in the liberal arts before entering upon their chosen professions, so that we may have Christian physicians for our families and scrupulously conscientious judges and lawyers in our courts? There is but one answer: *We* must have and maintain educational institutions; we cannot dispense with our colleges and seminaries. A fostering care of them is a paramount duty. The moment we begin to lag in this care we shall begin to lag in the work appointed unto us by the Lord of the Church; the very body of our Synod will begin to decay; the exhortation of our motto will come to naught, and we shall be found wanting, as unfaithful servants.

Therefore, let us embrace our institutions with a fostering care! Do you ask me how you are to foster them? In the first place, send us your boys. For what profit could there be in empty institutions? But listen: The cry for helpers in the harvest goes out to you, yes, to *you*. And when the Lord is asking for workmen in the great harvest at our door, would you deny Him the boy entrusted to you for the very purpose that you bring him up for the most exalted and blessed work into which a sinful man may be called? Would you rather, in misapplied parental love, or for the sake of worldly goods and pleasures and honors, keep your boy at home than save the harvest of the Lord? Would you not rather cheerfully, as did Hannah of old, return your son to the Lord for service in His kingdom? Oh, then send us your son!

Perhaps, however, you have reasons satisfactory to your own Christian conscience for not offering your son for such direct service in the Church. But you are inclined and have the means to give your son a college education and thus to set him on the road to some other broad usefulness to his fellowmen. 'Tis well and good. But being a Christian, which college must you give the preference, the godless college where the faith you so earnestly and prayerfully implanted is rooted out from the heart of that dear boy of yours; or to some sectarian college, where his faith is perverted; or to the college of your own church, where all instruction tends to the one end: to nourish

and strengthen the faith and to make your boy fit to earnestly contend for the faith, no matter in what line of battle the Lord may choose to place him? The question gives the answer. Therefore send us your boy, and thus foster our institutions!

Furthermore; with the students in our institutions our next care must be to give them the proper course of learning, to secure the ablest corps of professors, to furnish to the best of our ability all that is necessary for, and conducive to, thorough instruction, to keep our institutions in an up-to-date condition, second to none. As to the college course, would you cut out the study of ancient and foreign languages, as of little consequence for a minister? Or would you ask, Why should the prospective minister waste so much time and money and energy in learning the intricacies of natural sciences, mathematics, physics, history, and the like? I answer: The very nature of his life work in which he must deal with men in every walk of life peremptorily demands the broadest education in a minister. And as to the languages, we cannot possibly dispense with them, if our colleges would fulfill their mission. As long as it will be necessary to preach the Gospel unto salvation, so long will it be necessary to heed the exhortation of our Luther: "As dearly as we love the Gospel, so firmly let us hold on to the languages." I dare say, a ministry not conversant with the original languages of the Bible is at best but a makeshift, to be supplanted as speedily as time and the properly directed zeal of the Christians will permit. Therefore let us foster our colleges to the best of our ability, advancing them on every line, as professors, as pastors, and as laymen.

A word to you, beloved lay-Christians. Foster our institutions also with this world's goods, according as the Lord has blessed you, with your money, with your influence, with all that is helpful to maintain and upbuild them, ever mindful that serving them you are serving your own highest interests. Your charity can find no worthier object, be it in aiding indigent students, the number of whom is limited only by the aid proffered; be it in founding scholarships; be it in supplying some

other of the manifold wants. Regarding these wants I would here mention, with a sense of deepest gratitude, what, *e. g.*, this college owes to our good people of Fort Wayne. Ever since this institution has come among them, they have looked upon it and its inmates as their own, going so far as to welcome, year upon year, the stranger-youths into their homes and to their boards, and very materially reducing their expenses by caring for their laundries. I, for my part, up to this day gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness for the warm hearts and the helping hands which so generously assisted me during my sojourn in this my Alma Mater. May the blessings of God continue to abound exceedingly over our beloved Fort Wayne Christians for this their noble work.

Yet, one more, and that above all else, is our bounden duty as regards our institutions. This is, to prayerfully watch that they remain true to their purpose, viz., to uphold and propagate "God's Word and Luther's doctrine pure." It is true even here, as in all of our Christian life and work: "With might of ours naught can be done." The Lord of His Church is the Valiant One under whose guidance and fostering care alone our institutions can prosper. And they will prosper, for they are His, and shall ever redound to His glory alone. To Him we look for the blessings over them; to His hands do we commend them. But ours is the blessed privilege to be the agents of the Lord in this great work. And to watch and pray, and to pray and watch, that our institutions remain true, this is a duty from which nothing but death will release us. Therefore I charge you, venerable members of the Faculty, the honorable Board of Directors, officers of Synod, all here present, and in you our whole Synod, to prayerfully watch, so that each and every student of our institutions learn "to keep that which is committed to his trust" (1 Tim. 6, 20). Then, by the grace of our dear Savior Jesus Christ our Synod will remain a bulwark against the prince of darkness and his hosts, ever "contending for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." Amen.

Pittsburgh, Pa. W. Broecker.

BROADCHURCHISM AND THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

On this topic Prof. W. Brenton Greene, Jr., D. D., on October 10, 1904, delivered an address at the religious conference in Princeton Theological Seminary. His remarks deserve more than passing notice, in the first place, because of the concise and forceful statement of truths that cannot be set forth too often, and secondly, because the address was delivered on the eve of the first convention of the Inter-church Conference on Federation in New York City, which represents an effort in behalf of Broadchurchism such as was never before attempted. We quote from an extensive extract of Dr. Greene's address in *The Presbyterian* of November 1, 1905.—ED.

"Broadchurchism is the tendency to regard Church union as more important than Church distinction. In every one of its degrees it differs from the tendency toward federation. The latter is animated by love of the truth. For the sake of the truths which the Churches agree in holding it would have them cooperate in work, while for the sake of the truths distinctive of them it would have them retain their individuality. Broadchurchism, on the contrary, is always characterized by more or less of indifference to truth. It would sacrifice even truth for the greater efficiency which it supposes would result from the organic union of denominations. In a word, Broadchurchism is ecclesiastical utilitarianism. Broadchurchism prevails widely and is increasing. This appears in the passion for denominational union, and it is rendered significant by the simultaneous movement for federation. It must, indeed, be strong to exist alongside of a tendency so opposed. That it does is explained when we consider the soil in which Broadchurchism is growing. Indifference to religious truth is well-nigh universal and is spreading. This is so even in our own church. Of our 8681 Sabbath schools, in only 3326 was the Catechism taught last year. Ten years ago, however, though our schools were 812 fewer, those in which instruction in the Catechism was given were 490 more numerous. Is it strange that Broadchurchism flourishes? Is Broadchurchism favorable to the Christian life? It might be presumed to be. It aims to be. It is indifferent to the truth, not because hostile to it, but because it regards Christian life as more important. Its sincere endeavor is to bring in Christ's kingdom. This it might be argued that it is doing.

Never was the Church so organized or so aggressive as now. In spite of corruption in high places, individual life also and character attest more generally than, perhaps, in any age the prevalence of Christian principles. Must not, then, Broad-churchism favor the Christian life? I believe not, and for the following reasons:

"First, It tends to mental suicide. It would secure the organic union of churches by ignoring the differences between them. It is, however, through the recognition of differences that the mind is developed. Even generalization, the highest exercise of the mind, depends on such recognition. The Broad-church attitude must, consequently, be opposed to mental clearness and vigor. If unchecked, it would issue in mental suicide. It must, therefore, in itself be sinful. Could it, then, foster the spirit of holiness? Not unless evil can produce good.

"Secondly, It expresses indifference to God. As we have seen, it is rooted in indifference to truth in general and to religious truth in particular. A lower value is put on it than on intention and conduct. Truth, however, is the real conception of reality. Of such conception God is always the author. Consequently, indifference to it must be disrespect to Him, and so cannot be favorable to the 'life hid with Christ in Him.' Especially is this so in the sphere of religious truth. Here God is not only the author of truth; He is Himself 'the truth.' He is Himself the object of our perception and conception. The various doctrines are just so many different views of God Himself. They are God as we see Him. Hence, to be indifferent to them is to be indifferent to Him.

"Thirdly, We see at once how this is when we inquire into the nature of truth and its relation to moral character and so to Christian life. There is a prevalent theory, that truth may be of the feelings as well as of the intellect; that what is true to the feelings may be false to the intellect, and vice versa; and that Christian life, because rooted in the feelings, would better be developed without reference to such intellectual conceptions as doctrinal statements. This theory is radically false. There

is no knowledge of the heart. 'Feeling is a state of mind consequent on the reception of some idea.' So far from giving knowledge, it presupposes it. Hence, the religion of the heart is impossible without the theology of the head. Genuine religion can no more be creedless than pleasure or pain can be unconscious. Again, the head and the heart are not opposed. They are not even different faculties. They are only differing modes of the one and indivisible activity of man. For this reason, too, the religion of the heart and the theology of the head cannot be divorced. Unless the heart be disposed toward Christ, the head cannot, because it will not, discern the truth of Christ; and, on the other hand, zeal in His cause will be strong and abiding in proportion as the faith from which it springs and by which it is nourished is intelligent. Hence, the destructive tendency of Broadchurchism is explained. It inclines to ignore the intellect, which is one of the two indispensable factors in all right action and life.

"Fourthly, The argument is only strengthened by the objection, that, while truth is the primary element in right conduct, it is not all truth that has reference to conduct, and that the truth to which Broadchurchism is indifferent is not truth of this particular kind. The truth that it would ignore is too abstract to have any practical application. Even mathematical truth, however, has practical relations. Though it neither prompts nor indicates any special course of conduct, its comprehension will depend, in part, on the disposition, and will affect the character. But this is not the main consideration. The doctrines of Christianity are never mere abstract propositions. Every one of them both indicates duty and inspires to its performance. As every truth concerning God's will has direct application to our lives, and as His will is the expression of His nature, so every truth regarding the latter must bear on the obedience due from us. Hence, our Lord teaches that 'life eternal is to know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent.'

"Fifthly, The argument is further confirmed by the history of the Church. It shows, that Christian life has been according

to doctrine; that devotion to the truth of Christ has issued in effective activity in His cause; and that indifference to the truth as it is in Him has resulted in undirected effort and at last in loss of energy itself. The proof of this appears in the Huguenots of France, in the Dutch Republic, in the Covenanters of Scotland, in the English Puritans. Nor do the organization and missionary activity of the Church of to-day break the force of this reference. These most admirable characteristics are not due to Broadchurchism; they are in spite of it. They are not the fruit of what the Church is, but of what it was. A strong man who has been well nourished will work on after his nourishment has been withdrawn; and that Broadchurchism is not feeding the activity of the Church as it was fed and needs still to be fed, appears in such symptoms as the marked decline in the number of candidates for the ministry and especially in the loss of power on the part of the Church to maintain her individuality in the midst of the world.

"Sixthly, That Broadchurchism is directly opposed to the Christian life — such is the plain teaching of the Word of God. So far from many of its truths being too abstract to have any bearing on conduct, 'every Scripture,' in addition to being 'inspired of God,' is said to be profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: 'that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work.' Unless, then, God has inspired the unnecessary, the whole Bible and every one of its teachings is called for, if any man is to be all that he ought to be. Could there be a more entire condemnation of Broadchurchism?

"It will follow, therefore, first, that the great business of the minister of Christ is to preach the truth of Christ in all its length and breadth and height and depth. This is his work: the Holy Spirit has promised to make the application. Yet how often do we reverse this divine order. We urge the performance of duty; but we do not set forth the facts and truths which makes duty and in which the Christian life is rooted. There could not be a more fatal mistake. Only the Holy Spirit

can draw to Christ and quicken with His life those who are 'dead through trespasses and sin;' but being the Spirit of truth, He has covenanted to draw only in connection with, and by means of the truth. Of what use, too, will spiritual discernment be, if the spiritually enlightened man is to have no more truth to discern than much of the preaching and teaching of our day set before him? In a word, true religion becomes impossible when Broadchurchism is weaning us from its only nourishment.

"Finally, just because of the importance of doctrinal distinctions, must they be presented popularly and in relation to life. Only such preaching can discredit Broadchurchism, but such preaching will do it."

Since the above article was written the Conference on Federation has met, and has adopted a scheme of permanent federation, which Dr. E. F. Shearer has summarized for *The Presbyterian* of Nov. 22, 1905, as follows:

1. The body shall be called the Federation Council of the Church of Christ in America.

2. The following Christian bodies shall be entitled to representation in this Federal Council on their approval of the purpose and plan of the organization: The Baptist churches, North; the Baptist churches, South; the Free Baptist churches; the Negro Baptist churches; the Christian connection; the Congregational churches; the Disciples of Christ; the Evangelical Association; the Evangelical Synod, the Friends, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, General Synod; the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; the Primitive Methodist Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America; the Methodist Protestant Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the Mennonite Church, the Moravian Church, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the Welsh Presbyterian Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Reformed Church in America,

the Reformed Church in the United States of America, the Reformed Episcopal Church, the Seventh Day Baptist churches, the United Brethren in Christ, the United Evangelical Church.

3. The object of this Federal Council shall be: (a) To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church; (b) to bring the Christian bodies of America into harmonious service for Christ and the world; (c) to encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel; (d) to secure a large combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people.

4. This Federal Council shall have no authority over the constituent bodies adhering to it; but its province shall be limited to the expression of its counsel and the recommending of a course of action in matters of common interest to the churches, local councils, and individual Christians. It has no authority to draw up a common creed, or form of government or of worship, or in any way to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it.

5. Members of this Federal Council shall be appointed as follows: Each of the Christian bodies adhering to this Federal Council shall be entitled to four members, and shall be further entitled to one member for every 50,000 of its communicants or major fraction thereof. The question of representation of local councils shall be referred to the several constituent bodies, and to the first meeting of the Federal Council.

6. Any action to be taken by this Federal Council shall be by the general vote of its members. But in case one-third of the members present and voting request it, the vote shall be by the bodies represented, the members of each body voting separately; and action shall require the vote, not only of a majority of the members voting, but also of the bodies represented.

7. Other Christian bodies may be admitted into membership of this Federal Council on their request if approved by vote of two-thirds of the members voting at a session of this council, and of two-thirds of the bodies represented, the representatives of each body voting separately.

8. The Federal Council shall meet in December, 1908, and thereafter once in every four years.

In his report of the Conference Dr. Shearer also mentions the following:

"There has been much confusion in the popular mind arising from a failure to discriminate between the Inter-Church Federation now in conference and just made permanent, and the Federation of Churches which has existed for years. Even some of the delegates to the present Conference seem to have perceived no difference, or else to have supposed that the highest attainment of this Inter-Church Federation is to be along lines of pure sociology. An indication of this was shown by one speaker who expressed the hope that every locality, including the most sparsely settled rural district, would be divided and assigned by the Federation to be cared for by shepherds of the Federation.

"Bishop Fowler, of the M. E. Church, in an eloquent and most witty address, was most emphatic in pointing out that his denomination did not propose to surrender one iota of its antinomy, and Bishop Whittaker made it very plain that he and others of the Protestant Episcopal Church, although delegates, acted only as individuals."

On November 29, 1905, *The Presbyterian* said editorially:

"It was unfortunate that in the original announcement of the Federation scheme, and in the letters of invitation seeking the cooperation of the Churches, the qualifying word 'Evangelical,' or equivalent phraseology, was omitted. Had this unambiguous position been indicated at the outset, much unfortunate discussion and questioning would have been avoided. Despite the decision of the committee not to recognize the Unitarian delegation, the question was still an open one when the time of assembling arrived. Hence the Conference itself had to determine whether in the Federation, as it was taking shape, the term 'Christian Churches' should be understood exclusively as meaning those bodies which confess Jesus Christ as Supreme Head and 'crown Him Lord of all,' or should be

taken in a more elastic and comprehensive sense as including also those organizations which in any degree acknowledge the historic Jesus of Nazareth and are known as social and moral forces in the land. Aggressive and persistent efforts were made by certain members of the Council — men of high character and influential position — to secure the latter interpretation. But the great body of delegates stood firm for the evangelical testimony on this point as a standard and test of membership. This they did by refusing certain propositions which indirectly aimed at securing the open door, and more positively by so amending the Preamble in the Plan of Federation as to give expression to a distinct testimony and confession as to the divinity of Jesus Christ.

"At the same time it was painfully evident that even among those who thus acknowledge the Savior there were some who deeply regretted the exclusion of the Unitarians, and who still find themselves unwilling to join in the ringing declaration made by Dr. Buckley in his speech, 'I cannot federate in so close an association with people who cannot cry: "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name!" ' Among this minority are men of leadership and moral earnestness. They remain of the same opinion still. They have the courage of their convictions, and it is to be feared they will not give over their contention, but will labor for a possible change in the basis, to be made in the future.

"A reason for this attitude on the part of men who for themselves acknowledge the divinity of Christ, we surmise, may be found in the view they take of the nature and scope of the Federation's work. If it is conceived of chiefly as a movement for the ethical betterment of the nation, for temperance, for the stay of the divorce evil, for the improvement of the political and social and business realms, and for all that pertains to civic righteousness — then these members of the Conference may have been right, and there would be no reason for excluding the Unitarians. Indeed they would prove valuable allies in all such work. We must understand, then, by the course the Con-

ference took in determining the kind of constituency it shall represent, that they conceived of the work set before them as distinctly Christian work, and to be done on the distinctive lines of the Christian faith and testimony. And in view of this we are sorry to note the absence from the Plan, or from the Preamble, of any reference to the Scriptures as the source of light to the understanding, and of authority to the conscience. And in the document of a federation which has restricted its membership to the Evangelical Churches, we see not why the Cross of Christ, as well as His divinity, might not have found mention."

WARTBURG LETTERS OF LUTHER.

The ten months in the life of Luther intervening between the fourth day of May, 1521, and the sixth day of March, 1522, are in more than one respect an important period in the history of Lutheranism. "It was a very well-considered measure, serving the end in view, which the Elector Frederick applied to Luther, when he caused him to be kept in a secret place and to disappear from the public arena." [1] To begin with, it saved Luther's life. Counsels for his destruction were rife before Luther had quitted Worms, and the castle-gate at Wartburg had scarcely closed behind him and his friendly captors, when the imperial edict went forth which outlawed Luther in the greater part of continental Europe. To allow the monk, who had braved the scepter and the crozier together, to be abroad when the rumored chase for this exquisite game should begin, appeared to the good Saxon prince to be taking desperate chances, even if a nation united in behalf of Luther should have closed about the outlaw, defying the combined power of crown and miter. Moreover, it was a service which a German prince must loathe to do even by connivance to a pack of Roman and Spanish hell-hounds. All praise, then, to wise Prince Frederick!

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1) Koestlin, *Martin Luther* I, 468.

But in saving Luther the Wartburg exile saved the Reformation. It is no disparagement to Luther's sanctified zeal and to his well-known scorn of human aid in his struggle, to hint, as Kurtz does,[2] at a possible effect of the imperial interdict: it might have forced Luther to strike an alliance with men of the stamp and aspirations of Ulrich von Hutten, and to turn the Reformation into a revolution. If Rome had forced the issue conjured up by the ante-dated decree of Charles V of May 8, it is not unlikely that Luther's followers would have risen to his armed defense and would not have permitted him to control their counter-measures for the defeat of the popish plot.

To Luther himself the retirement at Castle Wartburg brought more than personal safety: the quiet of his seclusion, the gentle aspects of nature in forest and fen during a beautiful German spring, frequent leisurely walks beyond the castle-walls, all this had a calming effect upon a mind that had been stirred to its depths by ordeals before which sturdy warriors would have quailed. It brought a much-needed relief, rest, and recreation[3] to a toiler who had not spared himself at his task. And with physical relaxation came greater composure of mind. Removed from the scenes of his former busy life, from the acclaim of admiring followers, and the passionate outbursts of opponents, Luther, as from some spiritual eminence, could view, impersonally and impartially, the path that he had trodden thitherto, could calmly judge the merit or demerit of every speech and action of the four turbulent years that had passed since 1517, and could gratefully estimate and acknowledge the guiding hand of Providence which had not suffered this mighty movement to be materially turned aside from its divine purpose into carnal by-ways. Outcroppings like that of the Wittenberg iconoclasts and of the Zwickau illusionists were far better understood at a distance, as to their dangerous tendency and unholy motive, and pointed a mind calmly viewing

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2) *Kirchen-Gesch.* II, 18.

3) D'Aubigné, *Hist. of Reform.* III, 14.

them to fearful dangers to which the cause of the Gospel was exposed from its insincere adherents. Thus, Castle Wartburg became both for his body and his soul what Luther has called it, a Patmos, an isle of refuge in a storm-swept sea.

And the hand of the divine Fashioner of men's hearts was busy in the seclusion of those Thuringian forests molding the heart of Luther to suit His purposes. Many and fierce were the soul-battles which our hero fought in his quiet study under the eyes of Him alone who seeth in secret. Man's utter insignificance, his waywardness, his pride, his helplessness, rose up before Luther's mind, to crush out whatever there might be in him of vaingloriousness or of self-reliance in God's cause. Prostrate the hero of Worms lay before his Maker and his Judge, pleading for mercy in Jesus' name. Then was the corn of wheat buried in the ground to die, that it might blossom forth again in coming years and ripen into an abundant harvest.

Nor was the period of the exile altogether barren of material results which redounded at once to the benefit of the young church of the Reformation. Luther, wherever placed, must always be a student. And with him to study meant to study Scripture. Within the Holy Book lay the secret of his strength. His unwavering stand upon the written Word of God had from the start raised the force and importance of his utterances in pulpit and press above that which attends the mere subjective expressions of a learned man's opinion. In his very earliest attacks upon Rome, when not yet fully conscious that he had begun to face the enemy of his life and the Antichrist, Luther occupied the objective ground of Scripture, and arose, not to state a personal grievance, but something like the solemn message of a prophet of old, which began with a "Thus saith the Lord." His studies at Castle Wartburg served to mature the theological mind in him, that mind which has become thoroughly habituated to think and to speak *οὐδὲν ἄτερ γραφῆς*. One study in particular not only served to give to Luther's view a still more pronounced objectivity, but also proved the very greatest blessing to his followers, from the greatest to the

humblest, and the trustiest weapon which the church of the Reformation has wielded against her adversaries in any conflict. It was in this retirement that Luther conceived the thought and made the beginning of translating the Bible into German, the New Testament portion of which he brought with him ready for the printer on his return to Wittenberg. At Castle Wartburg, too, the First Part of his Church Postil was completed in manuscript, not mentioning minor writings, such as his exposition of the Magnificat and his Latin exposition of the Psalms (though this latter was not completed). Besides these, there were prepared at Castle Wartburg a number of writings which showed that even in his retirement Luther was a wide-awake watchman on Zion's rampart. His "Instruction for those going to Confession," "Of Confession, whether the Pope have authority to enjoin it," "Against the Abuse of the Mass," "Of Ecclesiastical and Monastic Vows," "Against the bull *Coena Domini*," "Against the New Idol at Halle," were all written during his enforced exile.

In other ways this exile proved a salutary visitation. Luther's followers were, for a time at least, cast upon their own resources. They were forced to estimate Luther's work aside from Luther's person. And now was manifested, to the dismay and bewilderment of Rome, the vast influence which Luther's teaching was even at that early date exercising among the masses. The very disappearance of their beloved teacher served to weld their hearts into a firmer union. The full truth about the manner of his disappearing leaked out only gradually. At first, the common people believed Luther had met with foul play in the neighborhood of Gotha. They interpreted his disappearance as a forerunner of coercive measures which Rome would forthwith adopt against the evangelical faith. The head of the new movement having been struck down, it was suspected that the members would soon meet with the same fate. Yes, Germany at last learned to understand the true spirit of the Roman hierarchy. Note, now, the change that had come over these patient Germans, who for centuries had been the *bons*

christians of the Pope and his jesters! In their view of the situation the period of meek forbearance or of sullen submission to Rome was plainly over. They had begun to realize that the majesty to whom they had been doing homage in stupid ignorance was a hollow sham and a foul imposition. No more parleying with Rome! that seemed their determination when they heard Luther had been waylaid, perhaps slain. The enthusiastic defiance which the people everywhere set up against the edict of Charles V was an awful revelation to the papacy, and so startled the German bishops that they were quite sincere in their cry: "Bring back Luther! We are not safe without him!"

Into the retirement of Luther at Castle Wartburg we wish to take our readers by publishing what is extant to date of Luther's Wartburg letters. The contents of these letters cannot, indeed, rank in importance with Luther's doctrinal writings, still they are full also of noble lessons exhibiting the power of true faith. We shall avail ourselves freely of the excellent labors of Prof. Hoppe, in the new St. Louis Edition of Luther's Works, to whose patient research extending through twenty-five years the church is indebted for much light on Luther's life and writings.

The first news from Castle Wartburg by Luther's own hand are contained in the fragment of a letter of May 12th addressed

To Melanchthon.[4]

So great is the fear that my abode might in some manner be revealed that I have been scarcely able to obtain permission to send this letter. For the same reason be careful also yourself

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4) St. L. Ed. XXI a, 351. It is found in MS. in Cod. Jen. a, fol. 268. It is printed in the collection of Buddeus, p. 18, in De Wette's collection, vol. 2, p. 12 (addressed, however, to Spalatin, during May or June, 1521), and in the Erlangen Corresp., vol. 3, p. 146. It is found in German in Walch, vol. XXI, 769 (addressed to Spalatin, 1522). Buddeus, who offers this letter from the original of Luther, remarks that part of the writing had become effaced to such an extent that it was impossible to decipher it.

to suffer the question whether the persons keeping me are friends or foes to remain in doubt, or to appear doubtful, and observe silence, provided you believe that your doing so would redound to the glory of God. For there is no need of others besides yourself and Amsdorf knowing aught beyond the fact that I am still alive. Who knows what God intends to effect by this counsel to keep me silent[5] on these heights. Now that I am a prisoner, the priests and monks who were in a rage while I was at liberty are fearful to such a degree, that they are beginning to mitigate their insane enactments against me. They cannot bear the sight of the great multitude of common people threatening them, and do not know by what ruse to escape. I behold in this "the mighty hand of the God of Jacob," Gen. 49, 24, and His doing while we keep silent, suffer, and pray. Is not the word of Moses true: "The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace"? Ex. 14, 14. A certain Romanist has written to the gentleman wearing the biretta[6] at Mayence, saying: "We are rid of Luther, as we wished to be; but the populace is so wrought up, that I surmise we shall hardly keep our lives, unless we light candles and go in search of him everywhere and bring him back." He wrote this in jest; but what if his jest should come to be serious truth! Ps. 4, 5: "Commune with your own heart upon your bed and be still," etc. —

Of the same date there is extant another letter

He assumes that it was written to Spalatin in 1522. It was evidently written during the first days after Luther's arrival at Castle Wartburg, and judging from its contents must have been written to some person in Wittenberg. Prof. Hoppe suggests Melanchthon as the addressee on the ground that there was no need to counsel Spalatin to keep Luther's hiding place a secret. Spalatin, no doubt, had been party to the secret negotiations for Luther's removal. Koestlin states that it was Spalatin who facilitated the delivery of letters to and from Luther, while the latter was at the Castle. See vol. 1, 470.

5) "durch diesen Rath des Schweigens."

6) "galeritae;" the Cardinal is meant.

To Melanchthon.[7]

To Philip Melanchthon, evangelist of the church at Wittenberg, my exceedingly dear brother in Christ: —

Jesus.

Grace! Well, what are you doing meanwhile, my dear Philip? Are you not praying that this retirement, to which I have reluctantly consented, may achieve some greater end for the glory of God? I also wish to know very much how you like this state of affairs. I was afraid that I might be regarded as a deserter from the line of battle, and yet, there was no way open to me for resisting those who desired and advised this plan. I wish for nothing more than to meet the rage of our adversaries and to offer my neck to them.

While I am sitting here, I place before my eyes all day long the condition of the Church, and I see, in the eighty-ninth Psalm, this saying (v. 48): "Wherefore hast Thou made all men in vain?" My God! what a frightful image is the abominable dominion of the Roman antichrist! And I abhor my callousness, because I am not altogether dissolved in tears, "weeping with my fountains of tears for the slain of the daughter of my people," Jer. 9, 1. But on this last day of His anger "there is none that stirreth up himself to take hold of God," Is. 64, 7, or that should "make up the hedge, and stand in the gap for the house of Israel," Ezek. 22, 30; 13, 5. Oh, a papal kingdom meet, indeed, for the end and the dregs of the world! God have mercy on us!

Wherefore, being a servant of the Word, you should meanwhile continue fortifying the walls and towers of Jerusalem, until they shall attack you too. You know your calling and your gifts. I am praying for you especially, in the hope that

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7) St. L. Ed. XV, 2513. This letter is found in Cod. Jen. a, fol. 118. It is printed in Aurifaber, vol. 1, fol. 324, in Strobel-Ranner, p. 16, in Schuetze, vol. 2, p. 206, however, incomplete, without the name of the addressee, and placed among the letters from Castle Coburg of the year 1530; in De Wette, vol. 2, p. 1, and in the Erlang. Corresp., vol. 3, p. 148.

my prayer (as I doubt not!) may somewhat avail. Do the same for me, and let us jointly bear this burden. We are left standing alone in the line of battle; after me they will seek to lay hold of you also.

Spalatin writes me that there is in press an edict[8] so cruel, that they will begin to search every man in the world, on peril of his conscience, for my books. By this edict they will soon work their own ruin. Their Rehoboam at Dresden[9] rejoices and is eager to execute the edict. They say that the Emperor was also importuned to write the King of Denmark, requesting him not to receive the remnants of the Lutheran heresy, and they are chanting the well-known strain, Ps. 41, 6: "When shall he die, and his name perish?"

Hartmann Kronenberg[10] has given the Emperor notice that he has quitted his service, for which he was to receive a

8) This refers to the imperial edict issued at Worms May 8, 1521, by which the papal bull of excommunication was confirmed, Luther declared to be diabolically possessed and outlawed, and his abettors charged with the crime of lese majesty, and all their chattels and goods forfeited to their captors after May 14.

9) Duke George of Saxony.

10) Hartmuth von Kronberg, or Cronenberg, a town in the Duchy of Nassau, situated at the foot of the Taunus Mountains, had openly espoused the cause of Luther, had addressed a letter full of burning indignation to Pope Leo X, had urged the inhabitants of Kronberg, with him, to repent of their sins, and to believe the Gospel, had induced and strengthened the city clerk at Oppenheim, Jacob Kohl, to embrace Luther's teaching, and had entered, since March, 1522, into a correspondence with Luther. On March 16, 1522, he nailed to the main gate of the city of Frankfurt a placard addressed to the inhabitants, warning them against "the false prophets and wolves;" he particularly assailed Peter Meyer, the parish priest at St. Bartholomew's, for attempting to suppress Luther's doctrine. In the style of the military parlance of that day, this bold Christian knight drew up articles of agreement between the King of Heaven, his Captain Jesus Christ, and himself, stipulating the terms of service to which he bound himself, in chivalrous faith, to engage in field-duty for his Lord. Every way this Hessian nobleman is one of the most congenial figures of the day, bold, aggressive, yet without that wanton impetuosity of knightly valor which in more than one instance spoiled undertakings in behalf of the Reformation. His zeal was not tainted by carnal or secular motives; he took his stand simply on Gospel ground.

salary of 200 guilders in gold,[11] because he is loath to serve one who will listen to such impious people. I believe that the upshot will be that this edict will rage nowhere except in the dominions of this Rehoboam and your other neighbor,[12] who are both afflicted with vaingloriousness. God lives and reigns to eternity! Amen.

The Lord has smitten me with great pain in the rectum. I am so costive, that my stool is forced from me only with great effort, causing nervous perspiration, and the longer I delay the harder it becomes. Yesterday, after four days, I had the first evacuation. For this reason I have not slept all night, and I am still restless. Do pray for me. For if this affliction is to go on as it has begun, it will become unbearable.

The Cardinal at Salzburg has joined Ferdinand on his nuptial journey to Innsbruck the day before St. Philip and St. James,[13] which was four days after our departure.[14] It is rumored that Ferdinand was not pleased with his companion, nor the Emperor, as Spalatin writes me. However, you may read his letter yourself. Be sure to write me all that is happening among you, and how everybody is. Godspeed to you and yours!

Exaudi Sunday,[15] 1521, in the realm of birds.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

D.

(To be continued.)

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11) This was the annual salary in consideration of which he, together with his friend Sickingen, had agreed to enter the Emperor's service.

12) The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

13) April 30.

14) Luther left Worms April 26.

15) May 12.

BOOK REVIEW.

LICHT DES LEBENS. Ein Jahrgang von Evangelienpredigten aus dem Nachlass des seligen *Dr. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther,* gesammelt von *C. J. Otto Hanser.* Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo. 1905. II and 688 pp. Price, $2.25.

This book contains 68 sermons of Dr. Walther. They were collected by Rev. Hanser of this city. The greater part of them was found in the original manuscript, some in copies made by pupils and friends of Walther, and one is a reprint from a former publication. All are genuine products of Dr. Walther. Their contents attest them as such, and the manuscripts submitted for this publication are vouched for to have been either written by Dr. Walther, or copied from his manuscript. The book contains sermons for every Sunday in the church-year, except Sunday after New Year, Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, Sixth Sunday after Easter and Twenty-seventh Sunday after Trinity. There are two sermons for the First Sunday in Advent, for Christmas (one for a Matin service), and for Good Friday. For festivals still observed in our church there are one sermon each for Epiphany, Purification of Mary, Ascension, St. John the Baptist's, Michaelmas, and Reformation Day. There is no sermon for Maundy Thursday. The text for every sermon is the conventional Gospel lesson for the day, except for the Matin Service on Christmas Day (Is. 9, 6. 7), Second Christmas Day (Epistle for St. Stephen's Day), Twenty-sixth Sunday after Trinity (Epistle I: 2 Pet. 3, 3—14), and Reformation Day (Ps. 77, 6—21). The texts for Good Friday are Luke 23, 44—48 and Mark 15, 42—47.

These sermons were preached on various occasions and at different places in America during 47 years of Dr. Walther's life, the earliest (No. 9, on the Gospel for the Sunday after Christmas) having been preached in 1839, and the latest (No. 31, on the Gospel for the Sunday after Easter) in 1886, a year before the Doctor's death. Four sermon's (No. 8, Gospel for Second Christmas Day; No. 11, Gospel for Epiphany Day; No. 30, Gospel for Second Easter Day; No. 46, Gospel for Sixth Sunday after Trinity) are without date. More than half (forty) of these sermons were preached during the decade between 1839 and 1848; fifteen between 1849 and 1857, six between 1861 and 1867, and only three (not counting the four not dated) after 1867. Thus, the bulk of these sermons is from a period when Walther was still engaged in pastoral work.

A perusal of them soon convinces the reader that a minister of the Gospel, a pastor, is talking in these sermons to average Christians on phases of the Christian life, such as a faithful pastor at all times finds it incumbent on him and timely to expound to the mixed gatherings in his church and their ever-changing and always recurring spiritual needs. The mercy of God is set forth on the Tenth Sunday after Trinity. ("Although many die the eternal death, God is not willing that the sinner should die. 1. Is God really not willing that the sinner should die? 2. How, then, is it possible that so many die the eternal death?") The love of Christ for sinners is treated with conquering earnestness on the Third Sunday after Trinity. ("The loving concern of Christ for a person does not cease, but only increases, in proportion as that person strays further from Him. 1. The blessed content of this truth; 2. its proper application.") The work of Christ, particularly the vicarious atonement, finds frequent and copious treatment. (Quinquagesima: "Requisites for pondering and applying the sufferings of Christ in a salutary manner: 1. attentive inquiry; 2. believing prayer; 3. faithfully following Christ." Fourth Sunday in Lent: "Christ Jesus an altogether different Savior than the one which the world foolishly desires. 1. What kind of a savior does the world desire? 2. What kind of Savior is Christ in reality?" Fifth Sunday in Lent: "The humility of Christ an object for all men's admiration and emulation. 1. Why His humility is admirable; 2. how earnestly His humility urges us to emulate it." Sixth Sunday in Lent: "The revelation of the divine majesty of Christ on the threshold of His suffering. 1. The revelation of His omniscience; 2. the revelation of His omnipotence." Good Friday (I): "The incomparable glory of the death of Jesus Christ, as we observe same 1. from the remarkable phenomena of nature by which God Himself has celebrated this death; 2. from the majesty of the person which suffered this death; 3. from the blessed effects and causes of this death." II: "The importance of the fact that Christ was buried, not by His enemies, but by His friends. This shows, 1. that Christ had died, really and truly; 2. that, if we wish to be true Christians, we must prepare a grave for Christ in our hearts." Easter: "The believers' well-grounded song of triumph at the empty tomb of Christ: Death is swallowed up in victory! 1. What good ground there is for this song of triumph; 2. why only believers can chant this song of triumph." Ascension: "Our faith affected, in a very important manner, by the ascension of Christ: for same 1. shows the necessity of faith; 2. confirms the basis of our faith; 3. ever furnishes fresh nourishment to our faith." Seventh Sunday after Trinity: "In what respect has Christ revealed Himself at the

feeding of the four thousand? 1. As the almighty Son of the living God; 2. as the merciful and kind Savior of all who suffer." Last, not least, Walther's glorious Christmas sermon must be mentioned: "The birth of Jesus Christ the basis for constant joy to all men. 1. It verily is that; 2. what must a person do, in order that this joy which has entered the world may enter his own heart?") The plan and way of salvation is plainly stated, not only in every sermon, but there are special sermons on the call (First Sunday in Advent: "The appeal of the Savior to us this day upon His entering among us through His Word of grace. 1. His appeal to those who already are His disciples and have been following Him; 2. His appeal to those who are not yet His disciples and have not been following Him." Third Sunday in Lent: "The verdict of Christ upon all those who have not wholly decided in favor of Him and His kingdom, to-wit, that they, too, are His enemies: for He states: 1. He that is not with me is against me. 2. He that gathereth not with me scattereth." Fourth Sunday after Easter: "Unbelief the capital sin: 1. because from it all other sins flow; 2. because for this only sin man is damned." Pentecost: "The heart of man a place where God wishes to make His abode. 1. What God is doing in order to make the heart of man His dwelling place; 2. what man must do in order that God may enter his heart and dwell therein." First Sunday after Trinity: "The two ways and their end: 1. the broad way leading to hell; 2. the narrow way leading to heaven." Second Sunday after Trinity: "The vain and foolish pretexts which serve as an excuse to those who will not wholly come to Christ. 1. Which are the conventional excuses of these persons? 2. That these excuses are merely vain and foolish pretexts." Sixth Sunday after Trinity: "People who are seeking and yet fail to enter the kingdom of heaven: they are those, who seek to enter 1. by their civil righteousness; 2. by the righteousness of the Law; 3. by the righteousness of church ordinances." Ninth Sunday after Trinity: "Taking no thought in time for eternity — the greatest folly: 1. because man is but a steward here and must give strict account to God in eternity of his stewardship in time; 2. because his brief span of life is granted man to the end that he may seek and find his salvation." Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity: "The custom of regarding the duty to seek the kingdom of God as a trivial affair. 1. That this custom is a universally prevailing one; 2. that it is a very fatal custom." Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity: "The raising of the young man at Nain an instructive object lesson of the spiritual resurrection which Christ wishes to effect in all men. 1. It is necessary for all men to experience a spiritual resurrection during their earthly life; 2. no man can raise

himself, but Christ must raise him through His Word and by His Spirit; 3. having become raised, it is a person's duty to walk in a new life"); on conversion and regeneration (Second Sunday after Epiphany: "What must a person do, in order that the glory of Christ may be revealed to him? 1. He must become conscious of his misery and of his need of Christ; 2. he must believe in Christ with his whole heart." Trinity Sunday: "Regeneration: 1. In order to be saved, every man must be born again; 2. how this blessed work is accomplished in man"); on faith (Second Christmas Day: "The glorious and wonderful faith in the Christ who has come into the world. 1. Faith cheerfully professes Christ before men and would shed his blood rather than deny Christ; 2. faith already here below sees the heavens open and the Savior standing at the right hand of God; 3. faith conquers all terrors of death and transforms death into his triumphant entry into his Savior's kingdom of glory." Third Sunday after Epiphany: "Why faith, in particular, is exalted and praised above all else in God's Word: 1. because salvation is a gift of grace which only faith grasps; 2. because it is just this faith that renews the heart of man and equips him for doing good works"). Faith in trials and afflictions is treated on the day of the Purification of Mary and on the Fifth Sunday after Trinity, "the beginning of faith" on the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity; and that the doctrine of the blessed virtue of faith is a trophy and a cherished bequest of the Reformation is shown from the Gospel for the Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity. Justification is treated twice ex professo: on the eleventh Sunday after Trinity and on the First Sunday after Easter; Absolution on the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, Election on Septuagesima Sunday, and the doctrine of Assurance on the Second Sunday in Lent.

While turning the pages of this book, the remark of Luther came to mind, viz., that there are a great many "good Easter preachers" who are not "good Pentecost preachers." Walther is not of this class. As clear, forcible, eloquent as he is in proclaiming the facts of Scripture relating to the acquisition of salvation, just as direct, convincing, and urgent he is in declaring the facts relating to the application of salvation, from the first to the last hour of the believer's new life in the state of grace. Walther endeavors not only to quicken a heart dead to God into life, but he nurses that life wherever it has appeared. His sermons on truths of sanctification are in no way behind those on truths of justification. Nearly one-fourth of the sermons in this volume have for their subject matter the daily renewal of believers. On the First Sunday in Advent he formulates holy resolves for his hearers tending to their improvement (second

part); on the First Sunday after Epiphany the younger part of his congregation is specially remembered in a sermon on "youthful piety," both humbling and elevating (1. demanded by God; 2. possible; 3. easy of accomplishment, and lovely). The believer's temptations (First Sunday in Lent), the believer's godly sorrow (Third Sunday after Easter), uncharitably judging a fellowman (Fourth Sunday after Trinity), "love of our fellowman — a fruit of faith" (Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity), creating offense (St. Michael's), the true celebration of the Sabbath (Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity), mutual forbearance and the forgiving spirit (Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity), prayer (Fifth Sunday after Easter) — all these subjects are presented as fervently as any of the great basic truths of redemption.

With Walther, saving a sinner means not only enabling him to go to heaven, but also to enter the Church of Christ here on earth. Church and ministry are divine institutions with Walther. Accordingly, he does not neglect to inform his hearers of the nature of the Church, its characteristics, growth, dangers, fate in this world, its treasures, authority, influence on a person's life and the blessed communion of its members. He explains the requirements for being a good pastor and a good church-member. He shows the nature, necessity, and efficacy of the means of grace; he describes the effects of preaching among men, baptismal grace, etc. Lastly, Walther depicts the Day of Judgment (Second Sunday in Advent and Twenty-sixth Sunday after Trinity), the social joys of saints in heaven (Second Easter Day), and the perilous character of the last times (Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity).

Thus this volume is rich in spiritual material for thoroughly furnishing the man of God unto all good works. We have not the space to discuss the style of Walther and his method of evolving the leading thought of his discourse from his text. Walther's preaching is doctrinal rather than interpretative, and he has been acknowledged a master of the doctrinal sermon, so difficult both as regards elaboration and presentation. — No work of equal importance to the church has left the press of our Publishing House during 1905. The work so far bestowed on this volume has been love's labor to all who were engaged in its preparation. We have no fear that it will prove love's labor lost. We confidently expect that a greater labor, enlisting many hearts, will now begin upon this volume in the homes of our Christians and in the studies of our pastors. To those who engage in this labor we can promise a rich reward; for this volume has been fitly named "Light of Life," not only to indicate its origin or to designate its contents, but also to predict its blessed effects, under God's grace, in the hearts of its believing readers and students. D.

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THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

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FAITH.

(Continued.)

The term *καρδία*, heart, and the uses for which Scripture employs this term, might seem sufficiently important to merit a separate discussion. For the present, suffice it to say that *καρδία* is, indeed, "more than the center of the living organism of matter." [1] Scripture predicates of the heart every known activity of the inner life of man. The heart thinks, projects ideas, formulates judgments, weighs and ponders the pro and con of a question; the heart wishes, desires, cherishes a wish, frames resolves, impels to action. Reason, desire, and will, all act through and by means of the heart. We meet with such phrases as *νοεῖν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, to understand with the heart, John 12, 20; *ἐνθυμήσεις καὶ ἔννοιαι καρδίας*, the thoughts and intents of the heart, Hebr. 4, 12; *διάνοια κ.*, the imagination of the heart, Luke 1, 51; *ἐπίνοια κ.*, the thought of the heart, Acts 8, 22; *συνιέναι τῇ καρδίᾳ*, to understand with the heart, Matt. 13, 15; *λογίζεσθαι, διαλογίζεσθαι ἐν τ. κ.*, to reason in the heart, Mark 2, 6. 8; *εἰπεῖν ἐν κ.*, to say in one's heart, Rom. 10, 6. Envying and strife, James 3, 14; adulterous desire, Matt. 5, 28; double-mindedness, James 4, 8; sadness and gladness, John 14, 1; Acts 14, 17, have their seat in the heart. The heart conceives a purpose and decides in favor of an action, hence, exercises the will-power, Acts 5, 4; 7, 23; 11, 23. We would summarize the exhaustive research of Cremer in a few

1) Cremer, *Bibl. Woerterb.*, p. 494.

sentences culled from his article on *καρδία*.[2]) "Being the seat of life, *καρδία* is principally and ultimately associated with everything that affects life." (p. 494.) "It is the central station of the life of a person viewed in its entirety, and upon it all that affects the person's life is made to ultimately react." (p. 494.) "It is the place where personal life in its entirety becomes concentrated, both as regards its conditions and its manifestations." (p. 497.) "In particular, it is the gathering point and the source of all religious life." (p. 498.) "Desires, manifesting themselves after the manner of natural instincts, are ascribed to the soul (*ψυχή*), while desires consciously and purposely expressed, reflections of the will, resolves, and the discursive faculty are ascribed to the heart." (p. 495.)

Now, it is here, in the heart, where the poisoned dart of the hellish archer had struck, inflicting a mortal wound. In the temptation Satan took good aim at the vital spot, and hit the mark with deadly precision. What was left after his onslaught was a spiritual corpse, "dead in trespasses and sins." The divine life, "the life of God," Eph. 4, 18, had ceased throbbing in the heart. The heart had been murdered by the "murderer from the beginning," John 8, 44. — Into this spiritual charnel house a divine Quickener comes with the word of grace, the power of God, to effect a resurrection of what is dead in man. "It is of the highest importance," says Cremer, "that the heart is the place for the activity of the Holy Spirit." (p. 496.) Here is where an astonishing miracle is wrought: "God sends forth the Spirit of His Son into the heart, crying: Abba, Father," Gal. 4, 6; He gives "the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts," 2 Cor. 1, 22; "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit," Rom. 8, 16; "the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us," Rom. 5, 5; we are "strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith," Eph. 3, 16. 17. Yes, here it is where faith is enacted and

2) Ibid., p. 492—499.

comes to exercise a dominant influence. The old, dead heart, dead unto God and the things of the Spirit of God, is raised to life, the life of God; it is made to act in response to the quickening touch of the Spirit of grace. Its energies and faculties are employed upon objects hitherto abhorred, loathed, and spurned. And the activity thus ensuing, Scripture teaches us to know as, and to name, faith.

When we proceed, now, to view the various modes, or ways, in which the heart exerts itself in any act of faith, the various directions in which its faculties are being employed, the various manifestations of its activity, it is with the understanding that we are not dividing faith into parts, each of which might exist separately and apart from other like parts, and still be essentially faith, though not complete faith; nor as successive stages, one leading to, or passing over into, another, until the state of faith consummate is reached, somewhat like in the metamorphoses of a chrysalis. Man never believes in parts, or in stages, but *we* may so *view,* yea, we are compelled to so view an act of faith and to point out various features of the act, because it is, with us, a physical impossibility to note and to describe more than one object at a time. Accordingly, when we point out that faith is knowledge, that it is assent, that it is confidence, this is not the meaning, viz., that these three exist in like proportion in faith as its union or sum, nor this, that faith is at first knowledge, which knowledge passes into assent, and culminates in confidence. But this is the meaning, viz., that the knowledge of faith is an assenting and confiding knowledge, or it can never be the knowledge of faith; the assent of faith is an intelligent and trustful assent, or it is not the assent of faith; the confidence of faith is firm assurance resting upon intelligent convictions gladly and rejoicingly accepted, or it is never the confidence of faith.

Faith, then, is knowledge. What the believer believes has been submitted to his perception and apperception, has been acted upon by the believer's intellect. Knowledge is of the essence of faith. "Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" Jesus

asked the man born blind. "Who is He, Lord?" replies the blind man, "that I might believe on Him," thus expressing, we might say instinctively, the impossibility of faith prior to an adequate intelligence of its object. Jesus concedes the point; He offers the blind man the required information. "Thou hast both seen Him, and it is He that talketh with thee," He says; and at once the blind man declares: "Lord, I believe," John 9, 35—38. Barring out knowledge is tantamount to keeping out faith. "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?" Rom. 10, 14. Scriptural antonyms of faith are ignorance, *ἀγνοία*, intellectual darkness, *σκοτία*, blindness, *πώρωσις*. The faith and worship of the Athenians' unknown god was not faith, but superstition, Acts 17, 22 f. 30. The advent of Christ is compared to the rising of a great light out of dense darkness, Matt. 4, 16; Luke 1, 79; John 1, 5. And those who saw the light, but failed to perceive its meaning, were unfit for faith, Rom. 11, 25; Luke 24, 25. Ignorance is but another name for unbelief. Faith wants to know, and does know, all that it believes, and whatever it does not know, it does not believe and cannot believe. The *fides implicita* (*carbonaria*) of Rome is not faith, but a very immoral prostitution of the mind, and a horrid caricature even of credulity.

The boundaries of faith coincide with the boundaries of knowledge. This is merely a different way of stating that faith is knowledge. It is the same whether I say: I believe what I know, or, I believe as far as I know. If the object proposed to my faith is only partially revealed to me, I am not required to yield faith to the unknown portion, excepting in so far as I must believe there is such a portion, if I am reliably informed there is. There may be perfect faith in an object partly known. "We know in part," 1 Cor. 13, 9. 12, is not saying that we believe in part. Again, the faith of one person may extend further, embrace more objects regarding which there is knowledge available, than the faith of another; yet either faith may be perfect in itself. The faith of the schoolboy who believingly recites as the sum total of his faith: "The blood of

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin," does not differ essentially from the faith of the theologian, whose knowledge extends to every point and stage of the *ordo salutis;* in other words, the theologian believes what he knows in no better way than the schoolboy believes what he knows.

The knowledge of faith is genuine knowledge. It is gained by an act of cognition. Fact or truth are set forth and faith apprehends them, perceives that they are and that they are just so and not otherwise, distinguishes them from other objects, becomes acquainted with them, and such acquaintance becomes an intellectual asset which faith handles as a banker handles his coin. Scripture predicates of believers *γινώσκειν*, *εἰδέναι*, *νοεῖν*, *ἐπιστῆσαι*, *γνῶσις*. "Through faith we understand (*πίστει νοοῦμεν*) that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear," Hebr. 11, 3. "We believe and are sure (*πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν*) that Thou art that Christ," John 6, 69. "We have known and believed (*ἐγνώκαμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν*) the love that God hath to us," 1 John 4, 16. "Believe the works, that ye may know and believe (*πιστεύσατε ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε*) that the Father is in me, and I in Him," John 10, 38. "If thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see (*ἐὰν πιστεύσῃς ὄψῃ*) the glory of God," John 11, 40. "Abraham rejoiced to see (*ἵνα ἴδῃ*) my day, and he saw it (*εἶδεν*) and was glad," John 8, 56. "These all died in faith (*κατὰ πίστιν*), not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off (*πόρρωθεν αὐτὰς ἰδόντες*) and were persuaded of them (*πεισθέντες*) and embraced them (*ἀσπασάμενοι*)," Hebr. 11, 13. "Ye know (*ἐπίστασθε*) how that a good while ago God made choice among us," Acts 15, 7. Zacharias, in the Benedictus, views as the future mission of his son this: "Thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways, to give knowledge of salvation (*γνῶσιν σωτηρίας*)," Luke 1, 77. This knowledge might be summed up in the last recorded statement of John to his disciples: "He that *believeth* on the Son hath everlasting life," John 3, 36.

Flacius [3] proposes to show from the origin of πίστις that knowledge is essential to faith. "There is no doubt that the word πίστις is derived from πείθω (a term which is frequently employed in Scripture to designate just this act of instructing men concerning God), and that it is formed out of the third person of the preterit passive, namely, out of πέπεισται, and hence, it retains the force and characteristic quality (*indolem*) of this word. Accordingly, we must, by all means, give some consideration to the nature and signification of this word; and this we ought to do the more readily, because the same word, both as to sound and sense, or signification, is found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament: πείθω, פָּתָה. The word πείθω, in its native sense (*per se*), signifies now to persuade, now to teach. It is, generally, through teaching that men become persuaded of the truth and goodness of a matter, or, on the other hand, of its falsity and viciousness. Hence, this word is not infrequently used to denote the teaching and instruction of the apostles, by which men were drawn unto faith. *E. g.*, Acts 19, 8: 'disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God' (διαλεγόμενος καὶ πείθων κτλ.). Acts 28, 23: 'He expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the Law of Moses and out of the prophets' (ἐξετίθετο διαμαρτυρόμενος ... πείθων κτλ.), *i. e.*, teaching persuasively the doctrine concerning Christ. Again, 2 Cor. 5, 11: 'Knowing, therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade (πείθομεν) men, but we are made manifest unto God, and I trust are made manifest in your consciences' (ἐν ταῖς συνειδήσεσιν ὑμῶν πεφανερῶσθαι). Gal. 1, 10: 'Do I now persuade (πείθω) men, or God?' Accordingly, in the same manner as the word πείθω signifies to teach and persuade, to set forth and to inculcate the doctrine concerning God, so, inversely, that which true teachers by thus teaching and persuading achieve or excite in the hearts of men, is called πίστις, namely a certain persuasion and trust, flowing and arising from the instruction received. Hence, the remark of Simpli-

3) *Glossa*, s. v. fides, col. 308 f.

cius (c. 3. *de anima*) is very apposite to our purpose, when he says: *διότι τέλος μὲν πίστις. ὁδὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ πείθεσθαι*, *i. e.*, The end aimed at is, indeed, faith; the way leading thither, however, is by being taught. For by teaching and persuading we strive to excite faith in men's hearts. Hence, we see that not only the agreement between the original term and its derivative, but also the harmonious relation of the act expressed by the original term to the effect expressed by the derivative shows that faith is a certain knowledge, persuasion, and trust regarding God's ineffable compassion over us and Christ's good work for us, obtained from instruction in God's Word, and by its means we give a hearty assent to God and believe Him as a truthful person who is telling us of, and promising us, these things. As the verb *πείθω*, then, produces out of itself the noun *πίστις*, so the very action expressed by the verb, namely, teaching and persuading, effects in the heart of the hearer not only knowledge, but also an inclination of the heart, or trust, which has been excited in the heart of the hearer by persuasion. For all Scripture and the Holy Spirit Himself aim chiefly at persuading us and prompting us to believe God. Hence, it is both very pleasant and very useful to consider in the matter now in hand the very great agreement both of matters and of terms. Scripture makes an extensive use of the term *πείθω* to designate the function of teaching the true religion. (Acts 19, 8; 28, 23; 26, 28; Gal. 1, 10.) However, among other instances of this meaning and use of the verb *πείθω* in the New Testament the statement of John (1 John 3, 19) is noteworthy above the rest: 'We shall assure our hearts before Him' (*ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πείσομεν τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν*), as if to say: Even though it condemn us, still God is greater than our heart. And here is properly described that inward strife of the godly, who are often disturbed by the sight of their sins and of the divine wrath, and are being assailed, on the one hand, by their own heart and conscience, and on the other, by Satan, and are thus driven to despair. However, over and against this they strengthen, raise up, instruct and teach themselves by the Spirit, crying, Abba,

Father, by the Word, truth, and unspeakable compassion of God, as of One who speaks face to face with them, comforts them, and argues these sad doubts down. And thus they rather believe and yield to the Word of God than to those inward emotions of distrust. After these very sad doubts and vacillations have been subdued, there follows true faith and trust in God and full assurance. Accordingly, let the reader diligently consider what the aforementioned accusations of the heart in these sad doubts and distrust mean, and what kind of an emotion, or affection, results from the aforementioned suasion. For in this way he will perceive by actual practice, as it were, the nature both of doubt and also of true confidence."

We have followed Flacius, it would seem, beyond the point now under consideration. However, the prolepsis is specious. It is proposed to show that faith is genuine knowledge, knowledge just as real, just as well certified, just as reliable as any other kind of knowledge which man acquires and possesses,[4] yea, more so. This seems impossible at first, because faith deals with matters which are not subject to sense perception or the reasoning process. Its sphere is the realm of the unknown. Scripture does not disguise this fact in the least, it rather makes it quite prominent. "Whom having not seen (*οὐκ εἰδότες*), ye love; in whom, though now ye see Him not (*μὴ ὁρῶντες*), yet believing (*πιστεύοντες δέ*), ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory," thus Peter (1 Ep. 1, 8) takes full cognizance of the vast contrast between believing and

4) This would appear from this circumstance, amongst others, that Scripture uses the terms which express the cognitive power of faith to express the common modes of cognition. As regards *γινώσκειν* comp. Mark 5, 29: "She *felt* in her body that she was healed;" Luke 8, 48: "I *perceive* that virtue is gone out of me;" Mark 15, 45: "When he *knew* it of the centurion;" Matt. 12, 33: "The tree is *known* by his fruit;" Matt. 21, 45: "They *perceived* that He spake of them;" Matt. 24, 33: "Ye *know* that summer is nigh;" Luke 18, 3: "Ye can *discern* the face of the sky," etc. As to *νοεῖν* (and its synonym *συνιέναι*) comp. 2 Tim. 2, 7: "*Consider* what I say;" Eph. 3, 4: "Whereby, when ye read, ye may *understand* my knowledge;" v. 20: "Above all that we ask or *think*;" Mark 13, 14: "Let him that readeth, understand." As regards *εἰδέναι*, *ἐπιστῆσαι* it is needless to offer references.

seeing. As a universal law Scripture declares: "He that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him," Hebr. 11, 6. We remember, in this connection, the warning words of the Lord to His skeptic disciple: "Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed," John 20, 29, and the plain, forceful statement of His apostle: "Hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth why doth he yet hope for?" Rom. 8, 24. "Things hoped for," "things not seen" are represented as the proper domain of faith, Hebr. 11, 1. Yea, Scripture acknowledges that the objects of faith transcend man's power to know; the indwelling of Christ in the hearts of His saints is invoked that they "may be able to comprehend what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to *know* the love of Christ, *which passeth knowledge,*" Eph. 3, 17—19. The apostle directs his followers to "the peace of God which *passeth all understanding,*" Phil. 4, 7. — In matters of this kind, how can true and genuine knowledge be obtained? Can the unknown, yea, the unknowable be known? Aye, that is what Scripture claims for, and predicates of faith: Faith is knowledge of the unknown. *Ἔστιν δὲ πίστις ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις, πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων,* "Faith is the *substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.*" Two things are here predicated of faith, both of which imply genuine, reliable knowledge based on grounds satisfactory to the possessor of that knowledge, though it is knowledge of absent and invisible matters. Faith represents "substance," as regards "things hoped for." What is *ὑπόστασις?* The apostle had requested of the congregation at Corinth a collection for the suffering brethren in Judea. Before the collection had materialized, he had "boasted" to the Christians in Macedonia the "forwardness of mind," the "zeal" of the Corinthians in this matter, and afterward wrote an urgent request to the Corinthians, not to put him to shame in his confident boasting, *ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει ταύτῃ τῆς καυχήσεως,* 2 Cor. 9, 4, by their failure to raise the collection as expected. The

apostle's statement in Macedonia about what was going on in Achaia had *ὑπόστασις*, a substantial basis, body, and form, not in his vivid imagination, but in what he observed among the members of the Corinthian church. He saw, as it were, the material help in the willingness to help; the zeal of the church-members was to him a promissory note of gilt-edge quality. And it was not for himself so much that he feared shame, if his glowing reports should have to be discredited, as for the Corinthians. (Observe the parenthesis *ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν ὑμεῖς*, v. 4.) He knew whereof he was speaking when he would mention Corinthian zeal, and was satisfied that he was stating facts. — In his controversy with the false teachers who were disturbing the same congregation it became necessary, at a certain point, that the apostle should speak of his personal achievements, and to "speak as a fool," boasting the superior quality and quantity of his labors in behalf of the Gospel. He proceeds to enumerate a long chain of events, 2 Cor. 11, 21 ff. *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὑποστάσει τῆς καυχήσεως*, v. 17, "in this confidence of boasting." Every one of the qualities, or events, which he mentions, is a reality, resting on a solid basis of fact.[5] — In Hebr. 1, 3 Christ is called "the express image of the person" of God the Father, *χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως*. God has *ὑπόστασις*, real existence, personality, just as real as that of Christ who said to Philip: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," John 14, 9, *i. e.*, whoever truly knows me and as truly as a person may know me, he may and does know the Father. Ὑπόστασις, then, is that which forms the solid basis for something, "id, quod spei ac fidei substructum est veluti fundamentum et fulcrum, *τῶν ἐλπιζομένων* (der sich dem, was gehofft wird, als Stuetze unterstellt)."[6] Accordingly, *ὑπόστασις* in Hebr. 3, 14 has become a synonym for *πίστις:* "We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence (*ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως*) steadfast unto the end." But faith is

5) Wilke: *ὑπ.* = "Die Unterlage fuer das Ruehmen, was sich das Ruehmen selbst unterlegt." (*Clavis*, s. v. II, p. 410.)

6) Ibid.

not only substantial, it is also evident knowledge, *πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων.* *Ἔλεγχος* is that which carries conviction, which proves a point, or disproves, and thereby applies censure to a falsehood. Scripture is "profitable for reproof," *πρὸς ἔλεγχον*, 2 Tim. 3, 16; it proves its point and stops gainsaying. Wilke says, referring to Hebr. 11, 1: "Render: faith is that in which things hoped for have their foundation and things not seen their proof (*indicem*) or witness, who argues that they are true; er ist fuer das Gehoffte der Grund des Bestehens, fuer das Nichtsichtliche der Beweis des Daseins."[7]

Knowledge of this kind must have been conveyed to the heart by a supernatural force. The ordinary avenues are, indeed, employed for conveying this knowledge, but they are made to receive and pass on to the heart extraordinary objects. The substance of a believer is not changed in the act of believing: he hears the truths of the doctrine of faith, he studies a statement of this doctrine, as he hears and studies a scientific proposition, a rule of grammar, etc., and he knows each distinctly, but each in a way peculiar to the objects to be known. The heart of man was so constituted as to receive and to retain knowledge, not of one kind, the natural, empirical knowledge only, but of two kinds, natural and supernatural. Both the creature and the Creator can communicate with man, however, each in his own way. And the heart of man receives knowledge offered it upon the authority of God in a different manner than it receives knowledge pertaining to natural objects. It is false to say, that what cannot be proven by a logical argument, on scientific grounds, is not true and has no existence. There is, always has been, and always will be in men, also in men of science, a knowledge of matters, which did not come to them by a process of syllogistic reasoning nor of scientific discovery, and will not be reasoned out of existence either, despite the most strenuous efforts. Men have died for this knowledge, and to ridicule it and call it fanaticism and bigotry

7) Ibid., s v. *ἐλεγχ.* I, p. 359. Comp. s. v. *ὑπόστασις*: "der fuer das, was sein Dasein verbirgt, die Ueberweisung ist." (II, 410.)

and illusion, is very unscientific. Facts do not pass out of existence when laughed at or hated. If we may be permitted to point to a parallel case of a lower order in the domain of science itself, not a few "discoveries" which scientific men have made were such only to the world of laymen, while to the discoverer they represented a successful effort to present his previous knowledge in a material, palpable, and convincing form. The difference, in knowledge of this kind existing among men, 'tis true, is one of degree rather than of kind. Nevertheless, it is just as great a blunder to maintain that one kind of knowledge is all knowledge as to claim that a certain degree of knowledge is the ne plus ultra of knowledge. Such a claim will have to stand for an exhibition of bigotry and fanaticism of the true-blue stamp.

The knowledge of faith is, accordingly, denied to the worldly wise, not because they may not have it, but because they may not have it in their way. The Lord speaks of "the Spirit of truth whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him," John 14, 7. "The world," says Paul, "by wisdom knew not God," 1 Cor. 1, 21. The apostle certainly does not speak of the knowledge of God's existence, for the existence of that knowledge in all men he has defended on more than one occasion (comp. Acts 14, 17; Rom. 1. 2). But he speaks of the spiritual knowledge of faith, for in the very next chapter he states (ch. 2, 7. 8): "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory: which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." This knowledge, as it pertains to God and the thoughts and purposes of God, must come to man from God. God alone can possess that knowledge at first hand which faith attains unto. "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God," 1 Cor. 2, 11. This is sound reasoning. And the apostle proceeds (v. 12): "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; *that we*

might know the things that are freely given to us of God." And these same things, and the knowledge thereof, the apostle proposes to communicate to others in just as supernatural a manner as he had himself received them. For he proceeds (v. 13): "Which things we also speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual," *i. e.,* presenting spiritual matters in words of a spiritual meaning. The Holy Ghost teacheth the words of this wisdom, so Paul has stated, not only with reference to himself and to the moment of inspiration when he penned whereof the Spirit gave him utterance, but with reference to all time and to all men. The Spirit never forsakes the Word which He inspired. John refers to the supernatural origin of the knowledge of faith, saying: "We know that the Son of God is come, and *hath given us an understanding, that we know Him* that is true," 1 John 5, 20. In 2 Cor. 5, 16 the apostle states: "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though *we have known Christ after the flesh,* yet henceforth know we Him no more." The question arises: What is the proper connection of *κατὰ σάρκα?* "It cannot qualify *Χριστόν*, which it precedes, but only the preceding *ἐγνώκαμεν*. If it had to be connected with *Χριστόν*, to distinguish what Christ had been according to the flesh, as He appeared in His earthly existence among the Jews, from what He is now after His resurrection, *κατὰ σάρκα* should at least have been placed after *Χριστόν*, and even then would hardly express a thought similar to that expressed in 1 Cor. 2, 2. It expresses a perception, a knowledge of Christ which is not determined by *σάρξ*, namely, by the apostle's *σάρξ*, over and against his present true knowledge of Christ."[8] *Γινώσκειν κατὰ σάρκα*, like *εἰδέναι κατὰ σάρκα* in the same verse, denotes natural knowledge, such knowledge as the apostle had possessed in his unconverted state. This knowledge had been superseded when he became enlightened by a new kind of knowledge received through the Spirit.

8) Cremer, l. c., p. 221.

Thus we come to understand how Scripture, on the one hand, can predicate of faith seeing, hearing, perceiving, knowing, and how, on the other hand, it can distinguish between faith and sight. The seeing of faith is performed with the eye of faith, the hearing of faith with the ear of faith, etc. "We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal," 2 Cor. 4, 18. "We walk by faith, not by sight," 2 Cor. 5, 7. Referring to this passage Cremer remarks:[9] "To render *εἶδος* by *externa rerum species,* the outward aspect of affairs, namely, of those by which we are surrounded, as Tittmann and Lipsius have done, is an unhappy development of the formal meaning of the term *externa rei species,* the outward appearance of a thing, and this development is in no wise justified by good usage. If *διὰ πίστεως περιπατεῖν* signifies 'to walk by faith,' faith being the mode or manner of a person's walk (comp. 2, 4; Rom. 2, 27; 8, 25), then *διὰ εἴδους π.* signifies 'to walk by the appearance,' the aspect [of a thing], so that what is visible gives a peculiar characteristic to a person's walk. The question now arises whether *διὰ εἴδους π.* refers to *ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι*, or to *ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου* in v. 6. If to the former, the apostle wishes to indicate that it is not our present appearance, but faith, which gives form to our walk. This thought, though awkwardly expressed, would be well adapted to show the reason for *θαῤῥεῖν πάντοτε*, and would practically mean: 'We walk by faith and heed not what is presented to our sight,' comp. Rom. 4, 19. But it would not be suitable for stating the reason for *θαῤῥοῦντες οὖν πάντοτε καὶ εἰδότες κτλ.* It is this double concept, of his confidence and his knowledge, that the apostle desires to affirm by appealing to the fact that faith, not sight, determines our walk. Moreover, in this connection with the preceding statement *ὅτι ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου*, the apostle means to refer to the future, as the scope of this entire passage shows, and the statement

9) Ibid., p. 344.

in v. 7 is to be understood in the sense of 1 John 3, 2; Col. 3, 2." [10] In 1 John 3, 2 we read: "*It doth not yet appear* what we shall be: *but we know* that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." What else can knowledge in this connection mean than faith-perception, the hearing of the unutterable, the seeing of the invisible, the knowing of the unknown? And thus we return to Hebr. 11, 1: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." The believer embraces, not shadows, but substances. However, he knows what he believes, because he has been known of God, Gal. 4, 9. His knowledge is present in his poor crumbling frame of dust and clay, and has been grasped by his infirm, limited faculties of understanding, but it is divine knowledge, knowledge of divine matters divinely conveyed. The possession of this knowledge stamps a person a child of God. "All they that have known the truth," 2 John 1, is simply another way of saying, "All they that have believed." (Note John 1, 10: "The world *knew* Him not;" v. 11: "His own *received* Him not;" v. 12: "To them that *believe* on His name.") Knowledge has verily become a synonym for faith. It is accompanied by the test of genuine faith, the witness of works of love. The believer answers the question: How do you know that you know? thus: "Hereby we do know that we know Him, if we keep His commandments," 1 John 2, 2. Already this circumstance indicates sufficiently that the knowledge of faith is not a knowledge that terminates in the act of perception, not a knowledge for the sake of knowing, but a knowledge in which the whole heart is interested and active, so that this knowledge from its very incipiency is accompanied by other manifestations of the energies of the heart. D.

(To be continued.)

10) WILKE: "Nostra via incedimus, h. e. vivimus in his terris, fide (im Zustande der Glaubenden) non conspicientes rem ipsam." (*Clavis*, s. v. διά I, 208.) — MACKNIGHT: "We walk by the belief of the other world, and not by the sight of this." (*Apost. Epist.* ad loc., p. 225.) — HIRSCHBERG BIBLE: "Durch den Glauben, nicht durch eine schon anschauende Erkenntnis, c. 4, 18; 1 Cor. 13, 12; 1 John 3, 2, fuehren wir unsern Christenwandel." (ad loc.)

SOME PARALLELS TO ROM. 1, 18 ff.

(*Concluded.*)

Among the leaders of modern thought, Dr. Mansel held that the only attributes of God "which may be reasonably predicated of Him," are Personality and Infinity. And Herbert Spencer does not admit as much. "Our duty is to submit ourselves with all humility to the established limits of our intelligence. Duty requires us neither to affirm nor to deny personality. . . . All attributes are degradations." God is "a Power to whom no emotion whatever can be ascribed."[1] To the Greek mind the personality of God was a living fact. Of His attributes they recognized not only Infinity,[2] but likewise Unity[3] and Life.[4] He is the Creator of all things,[5]

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1) *First Principles*, Part I, ch. 5, § 31. 32.

2) As did Anaximander: *πάντα περιέχει καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾷ.* (*Aristot. Phys.* IV, 4.) Secundus applies to him the expression *πολυδιοίκητον πνεῦμα* — "spiritus cuncta pervadens." (Mullachius, op. cit., p. 512.) Villoison terms this "commune *totius antiquitatis* dogma." (op. cit., p. 410.) *Συνέχει πάντα* and *πνεῦμα διηκὸν διὰ παντῶν*, "penetrating everywhere," are expressions frequently met with.

3) Xenophanes (*Fragm.* 7) has: *εἷς θεός, ἔν τε θεοῖσιν καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος*; he asserts that the figures of mythology were "*fictions* of the ancients." *Εἷς δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀρχων, θεός.* (Plutarch, *De Exil.* 5.) *Εἷς ὢν ὁ θεός.* (Idem, *de Ei ap. Delph.*, 20.) *Ἕν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων* — "there is one power, one God, the great Ruler of all things." (*Orphica* VI, 17.) He is *εἷς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι.* (Ib. IV, 3.) Like the personality of God, his Unity is taken for granted in the passages hereafter adduced. His *Immutability* is asserted in the strongest of terms: *ᾧ μοῖραι πείθονται*, "whom the Fates must obey." (*Orphica* III, 4.) Elsewhere he is absolutely identified with Fate, as by the Stoics. (Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* I, 15.) "It is impossible that God should desire any change in himself." (Plato, *De Rep.* II, 381 C.)

4) "He alone may fitly receive the predicate *ἐστι*" (not merely *ἦν* or *ἔσται*). (Plato, *Phaidros* 278 D.)

5) As in the passages cited above. According to Cicero, man was created "praeclara quadam conditione a supremo Deo." (*De Legg.* I, 22.) "God has created and endowed him." (Ib. 27.)

— omnipotent,[6] omnipresent,[7] omniscient,[8] and eternal.[9] To Him is ascribed holiness,[10] justice,[11] wisdom,[12] and Truth.[13] His Righteousness and Justice were present to the mind of orator, historian, and dramatist, — a terrible justice, inexorable, inevitable, and, according to Plato, unappeased by sacrifice and supplication. It is in this recognition of divine Justice that the pagan Consciousness of Sin, ever recurring in the history of ethnic religions, finds an explanation.

There remains one other phenomenon, exhibited in Greek and Roman literature alike, in which a reasserting of the higher knowledge over against the popular, traditional polytheism may be observed: the constant confusion which seems to have prevailed regarding the notions of one God and of many gods, a confusion which becomes apparent in the frequent intrusion of monotheistic terms into passages which seem to reaffirm the traditional theology, and vice versa. Indeed, a very great

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6) Epicharmus, *Fragm.*, v. 298: *ἀδύνατεῖ δ' οὐδὲν θεός.* (Cf. ***Odyss.*** *ξ*, 444, quoted above.) Plutarch, *Plac. Phil.* I, 7: *εἰ θεὸν οἰσθα, ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ ῥέξαι δαίμονι πᾶν δυνατόν.*

7) *Οὐδὲν ἐκφεύγει τὸ θεῖον ... αὐτὸς ἐσθ' ἁμῶν ἐπόπτας* (inspector). (Epicharmus, *Fragm.*, v. 297 sq.)

8) *Οὖλος* (= *ὅλος*) *ὁρᾷ, οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δὲ ἀκούει.* (Xenophanes, ***Fragm.*** *2.*) "He sees and hears all things." (Homer.) "The eye of God sees all things at once." (Xenophon, ***Mem.*** I, 4, 17.)

9) Xenophanes: "They say that God is One and Eternal," *ἀίδιον καὶ ἕνα.* (Cited also by Cicero, ***Lucullo,*** ch. 35.) Parmenides regarded him as "eternal and without a beginning," *οὐ γενόμενον.*

10) There were revulsions of feeling against the atrocities ascribed to the divinities by Homer and Hesiod. Plato protests against the notion that God should be the cause of evil (***De Rep.*** II, 379 D); in his ideal republic the "lies and fables" of Hesiod and Homer shall not be recited to the young (ib. 377 D). Similar protests were raised by Pindar, ***Aischylos,*** Herodotus, and others. — Aristotle has the expression "Supreme in virtue," as applied to God, *κράτιστος ἀρετῇ.* (***De Mundo,*** ch. 6.)

11) "The Deity leads the evildoer to judgment." (Menander, 14.) *Δίκης μέτα* (with Right) *πάντα κυβερνᾷς.* (Cleanthes, ***Hymn.*** I, 34.)

12) "God alone can be called Wise." (Plato, ***Phaidros,*** 278 D.)

13) Antoninus has "*θεὸς εἰς διὰ πάντων ... ἀλήθεια μία.*" Just so Cicero (***De Nat. Deor.*** III, 6; I, 15), and the Stoics generally. Plato has (Apolog. 21 B): [*θεὸς*] *οὐ δήπου ψεύδεται· οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτῷ* — God ***cannot*** lie.

number of passages[14]) contains, in close conjunction, both the singular and the plural forms of *θεός* and *deus,* with frequent interchange and substitution of the terms. Of course, we have in mind only such cases where the singular does not refer to some definite divinity of the pantheon, and is not used in the indefinite sense of "a deity." The following from Cicero will illustrate: "Nothing is greater than God (praestantius deo); he is subject to nothing; hence he rules the whole universe;" whereupon he adds: "etenim si concedimus intelligentes esse *deos,*" etc. The preceding context also has the plural form. (*De Nat. Deor.* II, 30.) The writers seem continually to lapse from higher to baser religious views, and then again seem to rise above the debris of their traditional faith into realms of a higher cognition. As a matter of fact, the Olympian divinities were relegated to the domain of poetry and the pictorial arts long before they were made the butt of Lucian's jests, and the doctrine of One God was indeed, as Villoisonius has it, "commune totius antiquitatis *dogma,*" the recognition of One, the Creator and Preserver, the Judge and the Avenger, who loomed even above majestic Zeus enthroned on Olympus, of One who stood afar off and alone, One "who was, who is, who will be" — but to whom worship was never rendered.[15]) They "glorified him not as God, . . . but became vain in their imaginations and their foolish heart was darkened," until idolatry was swallowed up in the Pantheism of the schools, and in the Atheism of Lucian and Lucrece.

What was the source of this knowledge? The evolutionist is ready to apply his little formula; he sees in all this merely the culmination of a national religious development. Two con-

14) Especially in Plato (*e. g. De Legg.* V, 739 E, as throughout the *Republic* and the *Laws*), in Cicero (as in the *Nature of the Gods, Offices, Epistles*), and in Seneca.

15) The notion — still reiterated in the popular handbooks of mythology — that a higher form of *worship* obtained in the Greek Mysteries, was given its quietus, some seventy-five years ago, by Lobeck in his *Aglaophamus.* Read Arnobius, *Adv. Nationes* V, 20 sqq., for a true estimation of these mysteries.

siderations will show this construction to be unsatisfactory: 1) How can the same law account for the subsequent decay and dissolution of this "nobler faith"? And 2), "Evolution," in Spencer's famous definition, is a change from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from "simpler to more complex" forms. A progress from polytheism to monotheism, from many gods to one God, however, would represent a change from more complex to simpler forms, *the reverse* of that course which we are asked to regard as preestablished by the law of evolution! Besides, we have already given instances of a belief in one God as held by nations and tribes very low in the scale of development — by those, in fact, whom the evolutionist regards as "aboriginal" men.

Christian scholars have found in instances such as quoted above either reminiscences of an original revelation, or have explained them as the result of an acquaintanceship, on the part of the pagan writers, with the Hebrew Scriptures. Both of these views are unsupported by historical evidence,[16] and are hypotheses, pure and simple. There is here no need of hypotheses. The words of St. Paul are so clear as to render all guess-work unnecessary: "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world *are clearly seen, being understood* by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse." This, then, is the *manner* in which the natural mind arrives at its knowledge of the Creator: He is seen and understood, His eternal power and Godhead stand revealed — in the works of Nature.

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16) Scripture is silent as to the manner in which Melchizedek, for instance, obtained his knowledge of El Eljon; whether it was the faith of Noah that he retained, or whether he had received a special revelation, we are unable to tell. The Eastern nations *may* have, at a much later time, profited by the residence of the Jews in Babylon, or by commercial intercourse. But even this is unsupported by contemporary evidence. Besides, the *universal* occurrence of monotheistic views could not thus be explained. — It need hardly be added, that the reports of an intercourse of Plato and Aristotle with the Hebrew prophets are of an entirely legendary, not to say mythical, character.

Some striking *verbal* coincidences may be disclosed by a comparison of the words of St. Paul, Rom. 1, 20, with ex professo arguments of pagan authors for the existence of God. "So much *may be understood,*" says Aristotle,[17] "concerning God, who is of surpassing *power,* and of *eternal* life; . . . for, being *invisible* to every mortal creature, He *is seen* in the *works* themselves." Stobaeos cites expressions quite as remarkable in his *Eclogae:* "God can neither be seen nor can He be perceived (*αἰσθητός*), but He is *visible to the mind* (*νόῳ*); His *works and operations are perceived* by all men." Similarly, in Xenophon: "He who has learned to recognize the *power* (*δύναμις*) *in creation* is under obligations to worship (!) the divinity."[18] And in the *Orphic Hymns:*[19] "My child, I will show you the footprints and the *mighty hand* of the *powerful God,* wherever I observe them." And where did he observe the workings of this power? In the water, in the air, in the storm, in the earthquake, and in the starry firmament[20] — in all that which St. Paul terms "the creation of the world." Similarly, Hierocles observed, in the visible universe and in its *incorruptibility,* "an image of the world-creator God."[21] It may be repeated in this connection that the Egyptian "Untar," the name applied to the "Unknown God," signifies *"Power;"*[22] the *method* by which the Egyptian mind arrived at this concept is thereby clearly indicated.

In the year A. D. 1440, at a grand religious council held at the consecration of a newly built temple of the Sun at Cuzco, Peru, the Inca Yupanqui arose before the assembled multitude, and spoke somewhat as follows:[23] "Many say that the Sun is

17) Ταῦτα *χρὴ περὶ θεοῦ διανοεῖσθαι, δυνάμει μέν ὄντος ἰσχυροτάτου, ζωῇ δ' ἀθανάτου . . . ὅτι πάσῃ θνητῇ φύσει ἀθεώρητος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων θεωρεῖται. De Mundo,* cap. 6. Not only the thought, but the very *vocabulary* of these lines will be seen to correspond very closely with Rom. 1, 20.

18) Xenophon, *Memorabilia* IV, 3, 14. 19) II, 18.

20) Ib., v. 24—41; cf. Plato, *De Legg.* X, 886 A.

21) *Comment. in Aureum Carmen;* Mullachius I, p. 419 (*ἀφθάρτου,* as in Rom. 1, 23: *ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ*).

22) Renouf, l. c.

23) Brinton, *Myths of the New World,* p. 72 sqq.

the maker of all things. But he who makes should abide by what he has made. Now, many things happen when the Sun is absent; therefore he cannot be the Universal Creator. And that he is alive at all is doubtful, for his trips do not tire him. . . . He is like a tethered beast which makes a daily round under the eye *of a master*. . . . I tell you that he, our father and master, the Sun, *must have a lord and master more powerful than himself*, who constrains him to his daily circuit without pause or rest." A temple was constructed to this greatest of all existences, in a vale by the sea, near Callao. "The fact," says Brinton, "and the approximate time of the incident are beyond question." The signal failure of this attempt at an introduction of a higher faith has been stated in a previous chapter. — The main facts of the *Mexican* story, alluded to in the same connection, are the following: The Mexican king Nezahualcoyotl (ca. 1400) devoted much time to the study of astronomy, botany, and zoology. "*He studied attentively the causes of the phenomena* of Nature," says the contemporary native record cited by the Spanish historians, "and this study led him to recognize the worthlessness of his faith. *'Verily,'* he exclaimed, *'the gods that I am adoring, what are they but idols* of stone without speech and feeling? They could not have made the beauty of the heaven, the sun, the moon, and the stars, which light the earth, with its countless streams, its fountains and waters. . . . *There must be some God, invisible and unknown, who is the universal Creator.* He alone can console me and take away my sorrow."[24] In this case also a temple was dedicated "to the Unknown God," though idolatry was not abolished. And of this and other expressions containing monotheistic views, as found among the Aztecs before the advent of the European, Brinton again remarks that they are "of undoubted indigenous origin," and "will bear the closest scrutiny." They may be placed on record, therefore, as authentic examples of that *method* by which in Rom. 1 all men are said to arrive at a knowledge of the Creator. —

24) Cited in Schultze, *Fetichism* VII, 2, and by Brinton, l. c., 74.

The remaining verses of our chapter, vv. 21—32, are concerned mainly with the moral decadence which resulted from a denial of the truth revealed to man in nature, a moral disintegration such as the apostle had good opportunity to observe in his travels among the peoples on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. However, this was accompanied *pari passu* with a gradual "clouding over," to use Rawlinson's expression, of religious knowledge, of the Truth which man possessed. Their heart "was darkened," v. 21; they "became fools," v. 22; the truth "was changed into a lie;" they "did not retain God in their knowledge." The doctrine of One God was, indeed, "commune dogma" of all antiquity — even during and after the age of greatest moral degeneration — and has been demonstrated in the case of savage tribes at a time when they had reached the very lowest stages of fetichistic worship. On the other hand, the *decay* of religious knowledge which accompanied this moral dissolution is likewise corroborated by the history of ethnic religions. Without exception, the religions of the world show traces of an earlier, higher, and purer faith. The farther back we trace them, the less conspicuous do their mythologic and superstitious elements become, the higher and nobler do they grow, the clearer and stronger does the innate truth, the knowledge of a Creator revealed in his works shine forth.

Vague *recollections* of an earlier, purer religion are not rare in the records of ethnic races. In his *Phaidros,* Plato introduces Socrates as conversing on the service and worship most pleasing to God; Phaidros is questioned upon his views in the matter, and is asked whether he has any knowledge of the subject. Phaidros answers, "Not any; have you?" "I have indeed," says Socrates; "I have indeed heard a common report *of the ancients,* but the truth they themselves knew. If we could discover it [the truth] ourselves, should we then any longer have need of *human* opinions?"[25] Cicero says[26] that "*the ancients* (antiquitas) approached nearest to the gods," and in

25) τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοξασμάτων, *Phaidr.* 274 B.

26) *De Legg.* II, 27.

the *Orphic Hymns,* cited above, we meet allusions to *"an ancient report"* (λόγος) concerning the Ruler of the world. Andrew Lang[27] records the report of the first missionaries in Greenland to the effect that "they could gather from a free dialogue they had with some perfectly wild Greenlanders (at that time avoiding any direct application to their hearts), that *their ancestors* must have believed in a Supreme Being, and did render him some service, which their posterity neglected little by little. An Eskimo said to a missionary, 'Certainly there must be a Being *who made all these things.* He must be very good, too.... Ah, did I but know him, how I would love and honor him!"

The founders of the Comparative Study (or Science) of Religion, and the greatest authorities in its various departments, are practically unanimous in their opinion, that all pagan systems of mythology and religion contain remnants of a more exalted form of belief, of a higher, clearer knowledge of the Divinity, which gradually became dimmed and corrupted.

From Max Mueller's Lecture on the Vedas[28] we quote the following: As a result "to which a comparative study of religions is sure to lead," "we shall learn that religions in their most ancient form, or in the minds of their authors, are generally free from many of the blemishes that attach to them in later times;" and from his Essay on Greek Mythology:[29] "When we ascend to the most distant heights of Greek history, the idea of God, as the Supreme Being, stands before us as a simple fact." — F. G. Welcker, who was to the study of Greek mythology what Mueller was to the study of ethnic systems in general, has laid down the following as the ultimate result of his researches: "This [Greek] polytheism has settled before the eyes of men like a high and continuous mountain range, beyond which it is the privilege only of general historical study to recognize, as from a higher point of view, the natural primitive monotheism."[30] Concerning the monotheistic ideas of

27) *The Making of Religion* (1898), p. 199.
28) *Essays*, vol. I, p. 48. 29) *Essays*, II, p. 146.
30) *Griechische Goetterlehre*, vol. I, p. 225 f.

later thought, the same author says that they are to be regarded *not* as a result of an ascending line of evolution ("aufsteigende Linie der Entwickelung"), but as "a *return* of the profound wisdom of old age to the feeling of *primitive* simplicity." — From Carl Boettcher's great work on the Treeworship of the Greeks, we may cite: "So far as we are able to trace the sacred tradition of the Greeks into prehistoric times, the united pre-Hellenic nation recognized only one God, nameless, without temples and images." This he regards as a tradition of "irrefutable inner truthfulness. . . . The beginning of Polytheism therefore represents the *second* phase of Greek religion, which was preceded by a Monotheism." [31]

Le Page Renouf expresses his entire agreement with the "matured judgment" of Emmanuel Rougé: "The first characteristic [of the Egyptian religion] is the Unity of God most energetically expressed: God, One, Sole and Only — no others with Him . . . the Only Being. . . . The belief in the Unity of the Supreme God and in His attributes as Creator and Lawgiver of man, whom He has endowed with an immortal soul, . . . *these are the primitive notions*, enchased in the midst of mythological superfetations accumulated in the centuries." "The sublimer portions are demonstrably ancient," adds Le Page Renouf.[32] Franz Lenormant reached the same conclusion.

Of the Phoenicians the greatest student of their history and religion, F. K. Movers, says: "Nature worship gradually obscured the purer God-idea of a more ancient stage of belief, but has never entirely obliterated it.[33] Later he again refers to this "adulteration of a purer and more ancient God-idea."

Regarding the Zoroastrian, M. Haug, the famous Zend-scholar, asserts,[34] that "Monotheism was the leading idea of his theology;" Ahura-mazda, *i. e.*, "the Living Creator." Zoroaster did not teach a theological Dualism. He arrived "at the

31) p. 7 sqq. 32) *The Religion of Anc. Egypt*, p. 94 sqq.

33) *Die Phoenizier*, vol. I, p. 168.

34) *Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsees* (London 1884), p. 300 sqq.

idea of the unity and indivisibility of the Supreme Being," but "in course of time this doctrine was changed and *corrupted* . . . the dualism of God and the devil arose." "Monotheism was *superseded* by Dualism."[35]

Both Dr. F. Hommel[36] and Friedrich Delitzsch[37] agree on the question of an early Arabian and Sumerian monotheism. Dr. Hommel demonstrates from the personal surnames contained in the inscriptions the existence of "a very exalted monotheism" "in the most ancient times" of the Arabian nation, about 2500 B. C., and among the Semitic tribes of northern Babylonia. This "monotheistic religion" degenerated under the influence of Babylonian polytheism.[38] The same opinion was held years ago by Julius Oppert, the Assyriologist, who was led a belief in "a universal primitive monotheism as the basis of all religions."[39]

Expressions similar to the above might be adduced from Rawlinson,[40] Legge (*Religions of China*), Doellinger,[41] Victor v. Strauss-Tarney,[42] Jacob Grimm,[43] and others. In short, the

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35) Rawlinson speaks of "the purer and more ancient form of the Persian Religion." (*Anc. Mon.* II, p. 224.)

36) *Altisraelitische Ueberlieferung* (1897), ch. III.

37) Essay "Monotheism," 1903.

38) op. cit., p. 117.

39) The bearing of these facts upon the evolutionistic conception of human history should be noted in passing; more especially, their bearing upon the popular notions concerning the descent of man. That all religions grow purer the farther we trace them back, admits of no doubt. But this militates against the idea of a "tailless, catarrhine, ape" (Huxley) as the ancestor of man. The evolutionists see the danger and strain all their powers — including, also, their capacity for truthfulness — in endeavoring to demonstrate *by processes of reasoning* (*not* by adducing historical evidence), that man's early faith was Animism and Fetichism, out of which, successively, Polytheism and Monotheism were evolved.

40) *Religions of the Ancient World*, and *Ancient Monarchies*.

41) *Judentum und Heidentum*.

42) *Altaegypt. Goetterlehre*, II, 38 sqq.; 72 sq.

43) *Deutsche Mythologie*. As, from the chapter on Odin: "Odin appears to have been the almighty, omnipresent Being, the spiritual Divinity. . . . This original notion was *obscured and finally lost*, . . . the old Divinity was degraded into an evil, Satanic, cruel being."

majority of independent and unprejudiced students of heathen beliefs, from the days of A. W. v. Schlegel[44] to our own, have reached the conclusion, that all religions in their later stages exhibit a much lower conception of the Divinity than in their earlier form. It is only the hopelessly prejudiced who can say, as does John Fiske,[45] that "to regard classic paganism as one of the degraded remnants of a primeval monotheism, is to sin against the canons of a sound inductive philosophy." Sinning against the consonant testimony of universal history is a venial offense, it would seem, when the integrity of this "sound inductive philosophy" — that is, of the Hegelo-Spencerian theory — is at stake. It needs but a glance at the well-known facts of religious history to show the working of this law of Decay as influencing the development of every system of belief which has a recorded history or a literature. Phoenician religion made the descent from an almost unalloyed monotheism to the cults of Moloch and Astarte; the lofty system of Egypt, to a worship of crocodiles, bulls, cats, and beetles; the early Parsee faith, to a crude sort of idolatry, now little better than fetichism; the ancient religion of China, to a grotesque worship of apocryphal monsters and a gibbering dread of ghosts and demons; the religion of Vedic India, first to a polytheistic form of belief, in which the ancient God-idea long continued to shine forth, but to-day to a worship of hideous wooden idols and the Buddhist prayer-wheel;[46] the faith of early Greece, passing first through a stage of polytheism,[47] in which the debauched and

44) "The longer I study the history of ancient times, the more am I convinced that all civilized nations have proceeded from a purer knowledge of the Supreme Being." (*Introd. to Prichard's Egypt. Mythol.*, p. XVI.)

45) *Myths and Myth-makers* (1895), p. 108.

46) Bastian remarks, that the very names of the great Trimurti (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva) which figure so largely in the popular handbooks of Mythology, are unknown to the great mass of the Hindoos. (*San Salvador*, p. 326.)

47) The ordinary compend of Mythology gives no conception of the depravities of this system; Arnobius' seven books *Adversus nationes* should be read to gain a true insight into its enormities.

perjured race of the Olympians received homage, ended in vulgar superstitions, among the masses, or in pantheism, among the cultured; while Rome perverted its higher conceptions (*e. g.*, the Etruscan Jupiter) into a worship of fetiches, pure and simple, burned incense to human tigers like Caligula, and resolved itself into that maze of superstitions — paralleled only in the accounts of modern travelers in Central Africa and Oceanica — which Juvenal describes. The workings of this law can be traced even in the case of savage tribes. Of the African negroes, P. Baudin says that "their traditions and religious doctrines . . . show clearly that they are a people in decadence. . . . They have an obscure and confused idea of the only God, . . . who *no longer* receives worship." [48] "The negroes possess the remnants of a noble and sublime religion, though they have *forgotten* its precepts and *debased* its ceremonies." [49] They still retain a recollection "of God, the Supreme, the Creator." Concerning the Zulus, Bastian records that they informed him that *"their ancestors* possessed the knowledge of . . . that *source of being* which is above, which gives life to men." [50] The example of the Eskimos has been cited above. —

Thus has the denial of "the Truth" at all times and everywhere worked out its result as stated Rom. 1, 21—32. The hearts of men "were darkened," they "became fools," and "did not retain God in their knowledge." If the earlier systems of belief were of a more exalted character, this was because man's heart had not yet become darkened; but in the course of time his organs of religious perception became enfeebled and atrophied, through long continued misuse and neglect; the cloud of ignorance settled over his eyes, and in the end his religion became a trembling, superstitious regard

48) *Fetichism*, p. 7. 10.

49) Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa.*

50) *Vorgeschichtliche Schoepfungslieder*, p. 33. 34. Toland, Davies, and Hulbert testify that "the ancient Druids believed originally in one supreme, invisible, omnipresent, and omnipotent Deity . . . and spoke of him under the epithet of *Hu*, signifying *"he that is,"* the self-existent Being.

of omens and portents, of Shamans, medicine men, soothsayers, and magicians, of fetiches, totems, talismans, and amulets. Yet it remains true that *"they have no excuse."* Men cannot plead, even after ages of moral and religious corruption, an entire ignorance of Him to whom alone worship is due. In times of complete religious bankruptcy the idea of One God has reasserted itself in all its pristine vigor, and with astonishing clarity and intensity, just as examples of real pagan piety are regarded in ages of moral dissolution. The reason has been given by St. Paul: Both a knowledge of divine Law and a knowledge of His "eternal power and Godhead" are inscribed in the hearts of men (not merely retained by tradition); *"for God hath showed it unto them,* so that they are without excuse," v. 20; "There is none that *seeketh* after God," ch. 3, 11 — the idolater persists in his idolatry. In the words of a great modern scholar: "Man *cannot escape the belief* that behind all form is one essence . . .; yet *he worships not* the Infinite he thinks, but a base idol of his own making." [51])

Red Wing, Minn. THEO. GRAEBNER.

WARTBURG LETTERS OF LUTHER.

(Continued.)

On Exaudi Sunday Luther dispatched two more letters. One of them is addressed to Nicolaus Amsdorf, who with Pezensteiner, the Augustinian friar, had remained with Luther, when Jonas, Schurf, and Swaven parted company with them at Eisenach, May 3. Amsdorf and Pezensteiner were eyewitnesses of Luther's seizure in the Thuringian Forest, near Castle Altenstein, during the early evening hours of Saturday, May 4.[1])

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51) Brinton, op. cit., p. 71.

1) Koestlin, I, 464 f.

To Amsdorf.[2]

To Nicolaus Amsdorf, Esq., Licentiate of Sacred Theology.

Jesus.

Grace! I had recently written a letter to you all, my dear Amsdorf, but after hearing a better counselor I have destroyed all, because it is still unsafe to send letters. Dr. Jerome[3] has now been written to in regard to the books and printed sheets,[4] and in the same letter I have also written the Prior[5] in regard to these affairs. You will all expedite whatever must needs be done in this matter. The Lord is visiting me, but pray for me, even as I, too, always pray for you, asking the Lord to strengthen your heart.

Be of good cheer, then, and whenever an opportunity is offered you, speak the Word of God with boldness. Also write me in detail how you have fared on your journey, and what you have heard and seen at Erfurt. At Philip's you will find what Spalatin has written me.

On the day when I was carried off from you I arrived at my night's lodging after dark, at about eleven o'clock, and fatigued from the long journey, because I am an untrained horseman. Now I am here idling, a free man among captives. Beware of our Roboam at Dresden and our Ben-hadad at Damascus.[6] For a cruel edict has been issued against us. But "the Lord shall laugh at them," Ps. 37, 13. Godspeed to you for His sake! My regards to all to whom I may owe them.

Exaudi Sunday, in airy regions, 1521.

Your

Martin Luther.

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2) This letter is found in MS. in Cod. Jen. B. 24. n, f. 182. It is printed in Aurifaber, I, 326; De Wette, II, 3. Erlangen Corresp. III, 150; St. Louis Ed. XV, 2516.

3) Hieronymus Schurf.

4) Luther refers to books which he needed for his studies and which he had requested sent to him. The sheets are those of his exposition of the *Magnificat*, which was just going to press.

5) Helt, Prior of the Augustinian Friars at Wittenberg. Koestlin, I, 501. 505. 507.

6) Wanton contempt of the holy Gospel earned these titles from Luther for Duke George of Saxony and the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

The other letter of the same date is addressed

To JOHN AGRICOLA.[7]

To John Agricola, the married theologian and freedman of Christ, at Wittenberg, my friend.

Jesus.

Grace! Although I regard everything that I have written to Philip and others as written to you likewise (unless through my departure, Heaven forfend! also mutual intercourse among my friends has departed), still it has seemed good that I should salute you also by personal letter.[8] Accept, then, my greeting, and be mindful of this word: "The servant is not greater than his Lord," John 13, 16. Give my regards to your flesh and your rib; the Lord grant her a safe delivery. Amen.

I am a queer captive, being confined here willingly and not willingly; willingly, because the Lord so wills it; not willingly, because I desire to stand forth in public in behalf of the Word; however, I have not been worthy yet to do so. Wittenberg is hated by her neighbors, but the Lord will cause her turn to come, when He shall have them in derision, Ps. 2, 4, provided only we believe in Him. Write me what arrangements have been made for preaching, what function has been assigned to each, in order that either my hope or my solicitude in behalf of the Word may be increased.

However, do you also faithfully discharge your duty of teaching children the Word,[9] since you have been called to this office, and bear what the Lord sends you to bear. Now, I have written you this only for the sake of writing. Godspeed to you and yours!

In the region of birds, Exaudi Sunday, 1521.

MARTIN LUTHER.

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7) Found in MS. in Cod. Jen. B. 24. n, f. 151; Cod. Ratzenberger; Cod. Gothan. A. 1048, f. 58 b. Printed in Aurifaber, I, 325 b; De Wette, II, 4; Erlangen Corresp. III, 151; St. Louis Ed. XV, 2520 f.

8) mit meiner Hand.

9) Agricola had been appointed catechist at the parish church.

P. S. One guilder you will kindly give to your little one at his birth, the other to his mother in confinement, in order that she may drink wine and have plenty of nourishment. For if I were present, I would surely be the child's sponsor.[10]

The next letter is dated May 14, and is addressed

To SPALATIN.[11]

To my most cherished friend in Christ, George Spalatin, the very faithful servant of Christ at Altenburg.

Jesus.

Grace! I have received your letter, my dear Spalatin, on Exaudi Sunday, also one from Gerbel,[12] and one from Sapidus,[13] and it is for good reasons that I have not answered ere this: I hesitated from fear that the report recently gone out of my captivity might prompt somebody to intercept my letters.[14] A great many things are related about me at this place, however, the opinion is gaining prevalence, that I was captured by friends sent for this purpose from Franconia.[15] To-morrow the time of the safe-conduct granted me by the

10) The custom of postponing a child's baptism for weeks and months, now sadly prevalent, would have horrified our forefathers. Children were frequently baptized on the day of their birth, for no other reason than this, because the parents wished to have their child entered into the covenant of grace without delay.

11) Found in MS. in Cod. Jen. a, f. 269, and in Cod. Goth. 187. 4., however, containing variations which, in the opinion of De Wette, must be rejected for the greater part. It was printed in Aurifaber, I, 326 b; De Wette, II, 5; Erlangen Corresp. III, 152; St. Louis Ed. XV, 2510.

12) Nicolaus Gerbel, Dr. juris at Strassburg. This jurist later published an edition of the Greek New Testament.

13) John Sapidus is Johannes Witz, rector of a school at Schlettstadt; he moved to Strassburg in later years.

14) This remark of Luther sufficiently explains why no letters from him are extant at this time earlier than May 12, that is, eight days after he had entered Castle Wartburg.

15) The reference most likely was to those Franconian noblemen who had favored Luther's cause. However, there was a report current at the same time, which was given much credence, viz., that Luther had been captured by Duke William of Henneberg, who had become Luther's enemy, because Luther had attacked the superstitious pilgrimage to Grimmenthal, a place in the Duke's domains.

Emperor expires. I am sorry that, as you write me, there is an intention of applying the very severe edict also for the purpose of exploring men's consciences; not for my sake, but because they are ill advised in this and will bring misfortune down upon their own heads, and because they continue to load themselves with a very great odium. Oh, what hatred will this shameless violence kindle! However, they may have their way; perhaps the time of their visitation is impending.

So far I have received nothing from our people either at Wittenberg or elsewhere. About the time of our arrival at Eisenach [16] the young men at Erfurt [17] had, during the night, damaged a few priests' dwellings, from indignation because the dean [18] of St. Severus Institute, a great papist, had caught Magister Draco, a gentleman who is favorably inclined to us, by his cassock and had publicly dragged him from the choir, pretending that he had been excommunicated for having gone to meet me at my entrance into Erfurt. Meanwhile people are fearing greater disturbances; the magistrates are conniving, for the local priests are in ill repute, and it is being reported that the artisans are allying themselves with the student body. It seems imminent that the prophetic saying will perhaps become true, which runs: Erfurt is another Prague.[19]

I was told yesterday that a certain priest at Gotha has met with rough treatment, because his people had bought certain estates (I do not know which), in order to increase the revenues of the church and, under pretext of their ecclesiastical immunity, had refused to pay the incumbrances and taxes on the same. We see that the people, as also Erasmus writes in his *bule,* are unable and unwilling any longer to bear the yoke of the pope and the papists. And still we do not cease coercing

16) April 9. 17) The students of the university at that place.

18) Jacob Doleatoris, really Jacob Schroeder from Eimbeck.

19) Soon after the university of Erfurt had been founded it gained ascendancy especially because German professors and students flocked to this school from Prague in such numbers that Erfurt came to be likened to Prague. Luther's meaning at this place is, that Erfurt may meet with the same fate as the university of Prague, which was ruined by disorders.

and burdening them, although, (now that everything is brought to light,) we have lost our reputation and their good will, and our former halo of sanctity can no longer avail or exert the influence which it formerly exerted. Heretofore we have increased hatred [20] by violence and by violence have suppressed it; however, whether we can continue suppressing it experience will show. I am sitting idle all day and oppressed with thoughts; [21] I am reading the Greek and Hebrew Bible. I shall write a German sermon on liberty from auricular confession.[22] I shall also continue my work on the Psalms [23] and on the Postils,[24] as soon as I shall have received from Wittenberg what I need. Among the papers I am looking for I also expect the *Magnificat* which I had begun.

You would hardly believe with what kindness we were received by the abbot of Hersfeld.[25] He sent the chancellor and the warden to meet us on the way more than a good mile out of town; he also received us in person at his castle surrounded by many horsemen and conducted us into the city. The city council received us at the gate. We were magnificently feasted at his monastery, and he lodged me in his private sleeping apartment. They constrained me to preach them a sermon early in the morning at 5 o'clock,[26] notwithstanding

20) Prof. Hoppe suggests as the proper reading *odia*, instead of *omnia*. *Odia* is found in both MSS.

21) schweren Kopfes.

22) This is the treatise, "On Confession, whether the pope have authority to enjoin same." It is found in St. Louis Ed. XIX, 814.

23) This is the work inscribed, "Explanation of the first twenty-two Psalms," St. Louis Ed. IV, 198. Luther merely completed the work for the printer till Ps. 22 incl., which he had begun; he did not resume his lectures on the Psalms in the university. Accordingly, the remark in the Erlangen Corresp.: "Luther did not continue his *Operationes in Psalmos*, as he had resolved according to this statement," is not quite correct. See St. Louis Ed. IV, 199 f.

24) The reference is to the German Church Postil.

25) Crato Miles von Hungen. He was friendly to the Reformation, but did not publicly go over to the Reformers, because in that case the abbey would most likely have been given to a rigid papist. In a short time he found himself the only Catholic member in the abbey.

26) This occurred on May 1.

my urgent representation that he was likely to lose his commission,[27] if the Imperialists should undertake to interpret this procedure as a breach of the safe-conduct granted me, because they had forbidden me to preach on the journey. However, I stated that I had not consented that the Word of God should be bound, as, indeed, I had not.

I also preached at Eisenach,[28] however, with the timid pastor entering his protest in the presence of a notary and witnesses, and humbly deprecating to me this act which necessity laid on him on account of his fear of his tyrannical lords. Accordingly, you may have heard it stated at Worms that I had broken my safe-conduct by these acts, but I did not commit a breach. For to yield this condition, that the Word of God should be bound (2 Tim. 2, 9), was not in my power. And so he (the abbot) conducted us the next day as far as the forest, detailed the chancellor to accompany us, and finally had us dine once more at his expense in Berka.[29]

At length we were received by the Eisenachers who had come on foot to meet us, and at eventide we entered Eisenach. Early in the morning all my companions departed with Jerome.[30] I traveled to my relatives beyond the forest (for they occupy nearly all this country),[31] and a short while after taking leave of them, as we were turning into the road to Waltershausen, I was taken captive near Castle Altenstein. Necessarily I had to inform Amsdorf [32] that I was to be taken captive by somebody, but he does not know the place where I am concealed.

My brother,[33] who espied the horsemen in time, quitted

27) regalia, Hoheitsrechte. 28) May 2.

29) A little town in the duchy of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, situated on the Werra River. There was another Berka on the river Ilm, in the principality of Weimar.

30) Hieronymus Schurf.

31) Luther was his uncle's guest, and preached at Moehra May 4, in the forenoon.

32) "Amsdorf musste es notwendigerweise wissen."

33) Frater Johann Pezensteiner, Luther's fellow-monk among the Augustinians, who frequently accompanied Luther on his journeys.

our vehicle and is reported to have arrived that night on foot at Waltershausen, without being met by anyone.[34] After arriving at this place I was divested of my garments and was given knight's garments to put on. I let my hair and beard grow, and you would hardly know me, since for some time already I fail to know myself. I am now living in Christian liberty, released from all the laws of this tyrant, though I could rather wish that yon hog at Dresden[35] might be worthy to kill me while publicly preaching, if so please God that I might suffer for the sake of His Word. The will of the Lord be done! Godspeed to you! Pray for me. My regards to your entire court.

Given on the mountain, Tuesday after Exaudi,[36] 1521.

MARTIN LUTHER.

The next piece of news from the Wartburg is contained in a fragment of a letter

To MELANCHTHON.[37]

I hear that at Erfurt they are resorting to violence against the dwellings of priests. I am surprised that the city council permits this and connives at it, and that our friend Lang keeps silent. For although it is good that those impious men who will not desist are kept in check, still this procedure will bring the Gospel into disrepute, and will cause men justly to spurn it. I would write to Lang, but as yet I dare not. For such a display of friendliness to our cause on the part of the people is very offensive to me, for it clearly shows that we are not yet worthy servants in God's sight, and that Satan is mocking and laughing at our effort. Oh, how I do fear, that all this is like the fig tree in the parable, of which the Lord, Matt. 21,[38] predicts that it will merely sprout before the day of judgment, but

34) "ungegruesset." 35) Duke George. 36) May 14.

37) It is found in Aurifaber, I, 329, with the note appended that it had been found in Spalatin's library; also in Strobel-Ranner, p. 15; De Wette, II, 7, and in the Erlangen Corresp. III, 158. St. Louis Ed. XV, 1906. Prof. Hoppe assigns it to the middle of May.

38) See Luke 13, 6 ff.

will not arrive at fruitage. What we teach is, indeed, the truth; however, it amounts to nothing but leaves and words, since we do not practice what we preach.

To Melanchthon.[39]

To Philip Melanchthon, theologian, teacher of the church at Wittenberg, my exceedingly dear brother in Christ.

Jesus.

Grace! I have forgotten what I wrote in the letter already sealed,[40] my dear Philip, still I wished to answer this letter of yours once more. I do not like to answer the treatise of Jacob Latomus,[41] because I have now turned my mind to quiet studies, and yet I see that it is necessary that I write an answer myself. Besides, there is the tedious labor of reading his long-winded and ill-written treatise. I had resolved to translate my exposition of the Epistles and Gospels into German, but you failed to send me the Postils printed in your town.

I send you the Psalm [42] which was sung during the recent holidays. You may have it printed, if you like and the presses are idle, and may dedicate it to whomsoever you please; for I wrote while I had nothing else to do and was without books. However, if you think otherwise, you may communicate it to our friends and let Christian Aurifaber [43] read it, or give it to Amsdorf.

I am glad that Dr. Lupinus [44] has had a blessed departure from this life; would to God we all could quit it. So great is God's anger which, having nothing to do, I am contemplating with daily increasing anxiety, that I doubt whether (outside

39) Printed in Aurifaber, I, 3296; De Wette, II, 8; Erlangen Corresp. III, 162. St. Louis Ed. XV, 2542.

40) Perhaps in the preceding fragment of a letter.

41) The faculty of the university of Loewen had condemned Luther's doctrine, and Prof. Latomus, a member of the faculty, defended this action in a treatise. Koestlin, I, 432. 480. 487.

42) Ps. 68, St. Louis Ed. V, 658.

43) Christian Doering, goldsmith and publisher.

44) Peter Wolf of Radheim, Doctor of philosophy and theology, dechant at Wittenberg, died May 1, 1521.

of little children) He is preserving any grown person from this kingdom of Satan. So utterly has our God forsaken us! Still, his departure has affected me not a little, when I reflected on the word of Isaiah (ch. 57, 1): "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart: and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come."

I should like to know who this heroic chap [45] Franciscus Faber Silesius [46] is. For the satire on Emser the goat [47] sufficiently reveals its original author. I am extraordinarily well pleased with the *Passionale* [48] in type and antitype. I see that John Schwertfeger has assisted you at this work. Our friend Oecolampad has come out ahead of my sermon on confession [49] by publishing his very frank dissertation on making confession easy,[50] which will prove a new plague to Antichrist and his defenders. If I had not expected that the treatise either had been or would be sent you by Spalatin, I should have forwarded it to you myself, together with the writing of Hutten which he has addressed to the magpies in miter and biretta at Worms.[51] However, I shall also write something in German on the same (on confession).

Our new benedict at Kemberg [52] is a strange man to me, because he fears nothing, and has been in such hurry in these turbulent times. The Lord direct him and mingle his delights with His bitter herbs (Ex. 12, 8), which He will do even

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45) "Der heldenmuetige Kopf."

46) A party by this name was in 1520 enrolled as poeta insignis upon the students' roster at Leipzig. Later he was city clerk at Breslau. He wrote: "Silva de incendio Lutheranorum librorum."

47) "Ludus in Caprum Emserianum," an academic buffoonery, was published at Wittenberg 1521. It contained a dialogue between Caper and Empusa and various satires on Emser.

48) St. Louis Ed. XIV, 186 ff.

49) St. Louis Ed. XIX, 814.

50) Quod non sit onerosa christianis confessio, paradoxon Joannis Oecolampadii. Basil. 1521.

51) No. 566 in St. Louis Ed. XV.

52) Bartholomew Bernhardi of Feldkirch, provost at Kemberg.

without my prayer. I am displeased because your *Methodus* [53] did not arrive complete, as far as printed. I would like to know who is the preacher for my pulpit. Also whether Amsdorf is still snoring in idleness.[54] May the Lord speed and increase the good progress of your studies whereof you write me. Amen.

I peremptorily order you not to be in the least concerned about me. Physically all is well with me, only my heaviness of mind is not yet gone, and my former weakness of spirit and faith still continues; my life in retirement,[55] however, is worthless; and since I have never been willingly occupied with the Word, I am now, to the great satisfaction of my heart, estopped from it. So, that is the state of affairs as far as I am concerned.

By the way, for the honor of the Word and for the mutual strengthening of myself and others I would rather be roasted on live coals than rot in retirement, almost dead and yet, good God! not altogether dead. But who knows whether Christ does not intend to accomplish greater things by this counsel, not only in this, but also in all other matters?

We have talked quite often about faith and the hope of things not seen (Hebr. 11, 1). Well, then, let us for once put this teaching to a little test, inasmuch as this present occurrence has happened to us by God's dispensation and not by our own attempt. Even if I perish, the Gospel will suffer no loss, because therein you far excel me and like another Elisha are following Elijah with a double portion of his spirit, which the Lord Jesus may graciously grant you. Amen.

Accordingly, see that you do not grieve, but sing the hymn which the Lord has commanded us to sing at night (Ps. 42, 8), and I will also sing; let us be careful for the Word only. If any are ignorant, let them be ignorant; if any are lost, let them be lost, provided only they cannot make complaint that they had to go without our ministry. Let the Lipsians glory,

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53) The *Loci communes*, Melanchthon's *Dogmatik*.

54) noch schnarcht und muessig ist. 55) *ἀναχώρησις*.

for this is their hour (Luke 22, 53). We must get out of our country, and from our kindred, and from our father's house; we must separate for a while, and go into a land which we know not (Gen. 12, 1). Meanwhile let others worship and glory in their N. N.[56] Jacob the Fleming[57] is satisfied if he can see you, and would you not[58] have him more than happy by seeing all that he would gladly see?

I have not yet given up the hope of returning to you, provided, however, that God shall do what is good in His eyes. If the Pope will attack all who are with me, Germany will not be spared disquietude, and the sooner he will do this, the sooner he and his party will perish, and I shall return. God is rousing the spirit of many, and even the hearts of the common people, so that I do not regard it as probable that this movement can be quelled by force, or if they begin to quell it, it will become ten times greater. Germany has many yeomen.[59]

Murner[60] is silent; what our Goat[61] will do I do not know; perhaps he will turn out another Ortwin.[62] One thing which you have written me I shall refuse to believe, viz., that you are in the wilderness like sheep without a shepherd. That would be the most sorrowful and bitter news that could be told. For while you, Amsdorf, and others are still there, you are not without shepherds. So do not talk thus, lest God be angered,

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56) Duke George.

57) Jacob Probst *Flemmichen, i. e.*, from Flanders.

58) Here the MSS. present a difficulty. All editions have *vis ne*, which De Wette proposes to read *vide ne*. Prof. Hoppe's conjecture, which we have followed, is *visne*.

59) Karsthansen, *i. e.*, farmers. In 1520 a satire, entitled "Karsthans," had made its appearance in Germany, directed against Murner's book to the German nobility. In this satire "Karsthans" represents a priest-hater. Hutten was supposed to be its author.

60) The burlesque Roman monk and theologian who opposed the Reformation. When his pasquil addressed to the German nobility made its appearance, Murner threatened to publish more, but failed to make good his threat.

61) Dr. Emser, Luther's Roman opponent at the university of Leipzig.

62) Ortwin (Ortuinus Gratius, *i. e.*, de Graes, Reuchlin's opponent) is the principal character in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*.

and we be found ungrateful. Would to God that all churches, at least all chapter-churches,[63] might have the fourth part of the Word and the ministration of the Word that you have. Give thanks to the Lord who has given you light! There now, I have made many words (about it).

The gentleman in the biretta at Mayence[64] is said to have 1800 sworn enemies opposed to him, and Dr. Schifer[65] is reported to be suffering with a grievous fever; some say he is dead. A certain bishop[66] who was excessively hostile to Luther, is fallen, that is, he perished at Worms. I know no more to write you, for I am a recluse, an eremite, and a monk[67] in good earnest, however, without cowl and hood. You would find me a chevalier and hardly recognize me.

Tell Amsdorf that the pastor of Hersfeld,[68] a very good man, as report has it, has also married; hence you are not the only people having a wedded minister in your newly married provost. Tell him also not to care because the above-named gentleman has been preferred to him for Peter Lupinus' position. Oh, these children of Adam! However, it is well that his upright and liberal mind has been the cause of such a loss to him, while a different sort of spirit has been the cause of a great gain to the former. Our merits are concealed, but they are nevertheless charged to our credit. Reward at length makes manifest the intents of men's hearts. I fear for the provost at Kemberg, for he may be expelled and may then have to suffer want with twofold body and with as many more bodies as shall yet spring from their union. However, if he abides

63) Stiftskirchen, *i. e.*, churches with which a chapter or college of canons (Stiftsherren, Domherren) was connected.

64) Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence had obtained the Cardinalship at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518.

65) Guillermo de Croy, Duke of Sora, Lord of Chevres, imperial minister, died May 27.

66) Aloisius Marlianus, bishop of Tuy in Spain, died at Worms in the early part of May.

67) monk from *monachus*, a person leading a secluded, solitary life.

68) Heinrich Fuchs; so Hassenkamp claims in his *Hessische Reformationsgeschichte.*

faithful, the Lord liveth, who is the Shepherd of all and suffers not even a bird to go hungry.

You will kindly convey my greetings to him and encourage him. I desire, too, that you and all your colleagues should be of good cheer and praise God. I cannot express how great a favor you should thereby do me, and how greatly God would be pleased with such conduct, while you would cause mortal grief to Satan and Satan's minions. Your sorrow is the greatest evil I have to bear, and your joy is mine also. Godspeed to you, then, in the Lord's name, to whom, as I confidently trust, you are commending me; neither am I (as far as I am able) unmindful of you. Guard the Church of the Lord, over which the Holy Ghost has made you bishops (Acts 20, 28), not episcopal humbugs (Bischofslarven).

Give my personal regards to all — there are so many of you! You need not take greetings to Magister Eisleben nor to our "fat Fleming;" for I shall write to them. Remember me to Johann Schwertfeger, Peter Suaven,[69] and the entire congregation at your house; to Heinrich van Zuetphen[70] and to all the brethren (I have written to the Prior!); also to Master Lukas and Christian, to Dr. Eschhausen,[71] and whomsoever else you may meet. Observe the abominable paper which I

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69) This person had been a pupil of Mosellanus and had accompanied Luther to the Leipzig Disputation and to Worms. In 1522 he went to Stolpe in Pomerania to engage in reformatory work, and was imprisoned in 1523 by Duke Boguslaf; but soon after he was released and made professor at Greifswald, and finally, secretary and adviser to Frederick I of Denmark, who frequently employed him on secret missions to France.

70) Heinrich van Zuetphen had held the office of prior at Dordrecht, but in a riot that had broken out in the town against the Dominican friars he had lost his office through the machinations of the Dordrecht magistrates, and had been sent to an Augustinian cloister at Antwerp. However, he left this city in November, 1520, and came to Cologne, thence to Wittenberg, to complete his studies.

71) Dr. Theo. Eschaus, or Eschhausen, was a professor of medicine, On November 18, 1524, as records still extant show, Luther recommended him for the position of Prof. Stagmann, retired. Eschhausen was Luther's family physician as late as 1527. In 1528, Agricola, in a casual remark (*Spruechw.*, Bl. 6), mentions that he was a nonagenarian.

have been compelled to use for this letter. Once more, God-speed to you!

Among the birds which are sweetly singing in their bowers and, night and day, are praising God with all their might, Exaudi Sunday,[72] 1521.

Your MARTIN.

(To be continued.) D.

WALTHER ON THE PROPER DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN LAW AND GOSPEL.[1]

FIRST LECTURE. (September 12, 1884.)

MY DEAR FRIENDS:—

Although it is indispensably necessary for your future efficiency as teachers in church and school that you learn to know most accurately all doctrines of the Christian Revelation, yet not all that is necessary has thereby been accomplished. But it is necessary, besides, that you understand the right application of these doctrines; that you have not only a clear perception of these doctrines in your mind, but have them deeply imbedded and manifesting their divine, heavenly power in your heart; that all these doctrines have become so dear, so precious, so delightful to you that you cannot but profess, with glowing heart, saying, with Paul: "We believe, and therefore speak," 2 Cor. 4, 13, and with all the apostles: "We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard," Acts 4, 20. True, you have not seen these things with bodily eyes, nor heard them with bodily ears, as did the apostles, but you must needs have perceived them with spiritual eyes and ears. Now, while my endeavor in dogmatics is to stablish and make you sure in every doctrine, my aim in our Friday evening lecture

72) May 26.

1) This paper is offered as a sample of a contemplated translation of Dr. Walther's well-known work. Criticism and suggestion is kindly invited. D.

is to make you true practical theologians and to verily talk the Christian doctrine into your hearts, so that some day you may come forward as living witnesses, in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, not standing in your pulpits like lifeless statues, but offering help, with confident and cheerful heart, wherever help is required.

Now, the first and most important doctrine is that of justification; a close second, however, is the doctrine of the discrimination between Law and Gospel. We shall now be occupied with the discrimination between Law and Gospel. Let this be the subject of our earnest study.

Luther, indeed, says that he would assign first place to that person, and would call him a Doctor of Holy Writ, who knows this art well, viz., to discriminate between Law and Gospel. Do not believe, however, that I wish to assume first place myself and desire to be esteemed a Doctor of Holy Writ. No, indeed; there you would be greatly mistaken. True, I am occasionally thus traduced. But I, too, shall rather remain an humble pupil and sit at the feet of our Luther, even as he himself has learned this doctrine from the apostles and prophets. As often as you attend these lectures, do come with the silent prayer in your hearts that God would grant His Holy Spirit abundantly — to you, that you may profitably listen; and to me, that I may profitably teach. Let us, then, proceed to our subject, firmly trusting that God will bless our own souls and those whom we are to save.

If we compare the Holy Scriptures with other writings, we observe that no book seems to be so full of contradictions as the Bible, and that, not only as regards secondary matters, but as regards the chief matter, viz., the doctrine how we must come to God and be saved. Now it offers forgiveness to all sinners, now it retains the sins of all sinners. Now it offers to all sinners eternal life freely, now man is directed to make an effort for it himself. Now, this enigma is solved when we consider that in Scripture there are found two totally different doctrines, that of the Law and that of the Gospel.

Thesis I.

The doctrinal contents of all Holy Writ, both of the Old and the New Testament, consist of two doctrines differing fundamentally from one another, namely, the Law and the Gospel.

While it is not my intention in these lectures to systematically treat the doctrines of Law and Gospel, but rather to show you how easily Law and Gospel, which differ so greatly from each other, can be confounded, and the final aim of either doctrine frustrated, still you will not consider this matter with interest until you realize wherein the difference between Law and Gospel consists.

Law and Gospel do not differ in this, that the Gospel is a divine, the Law a human doctrine, resting on human reason. No, what there is found in Scripture of both doctrines is all the Word of the living God Himself. Nor is this the difference, that only the Gospel is necessary, but not the Law, the latter being a mere appendix which, if need be, might be dispensed with. No, both are equally necessary for us. Without the Law we do not understand the Gospel, and without the Gospel the Law benefits us nothing. Nor is this the difference, as simple people often imagine, viz., that the Law is the doctrine of the Old, the Gospel that of the New Testament. No, there is Gospel found in the Old, and there is Law found in the New Testament. In the New Testament the Lord has even unsealed to us the Law; He has purged it from Jewish traditions. Nor is this the difference, that each doctrine has a different aim, the Gospel having been given for salvation, the Law for damnation. No, the ultimate aim of both is the salvation of men; only the Law, after the fall, cannot effect our salvation, but can only prepare us for the Gospel. And moreover, by the Gospel we are given power in a manner to fulfill the Law. Nor is this the difference, that these doctrines contradict one another. No, there is no contradiction in Scripture. They are merely different, yet in most beautiful harmony with one another. Nor is this the difference, that only one of these doc-

trines is intended for Christians, not the other. The Law retains its importance even to a Christian. Yea, when a person quits the use of either doctrine he is no longer a true Christian.

The difference between Law and Gospel rather consists in the following: 1. These doctrines differ as regards the mode and manner in which they were revealed to man; 2. they differ as regards their *contents;* 3. as regards the *promises* conveyed by either; 4. as regards their threats; 5. as regards their function and the effects of either; 6. as regards the persons to whom either doctrine is to be preached. All other differences can be brought under these six heads. Let us now prove from God's Word what has been said.

Law and Gospel, then, differ, in the first place, as regards the manner in which these doctrines have been revealed to man. The Law is concreate with man and written in his heart. True, this writing in man's heart has, through the fall, become much obliterated, but not entirely effaced. Accordingly, when the Law is preached even to the most godless person, his conscience tells him: "That is true!" But his conscience does not tell him the same when the Gospel is preached to him; aye, he may become enraged. Even the most profligate person acknowledges that he ought to do what is written in the Law. Whence is this? Because these things have been written in his heart. Conditions are different as regards the Gospel. The Gospel contains the proclamation and revelation of nothing but free acts of God's grace, which cannot be arrived at by reasonable deduction. God was not obliged to do what according to the Gospel He has done, on the ground that no other course was open to Him if He wished to remain just and kind. No, God would have remained eternal Love, even if He had suffered all men to go to the devil.

Rom. 2, 14. 15: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the Law, do by nature the things contained in the Law, these, having not the Law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing

or else excusing one another." Here the apostle testifies that even the blind heathen have the moral Law in their hearts and consciences. They required no supernatural revelation for these matters. The Ten Commandments were given merely to the end that the faded writing in men's hearts might be retouched.

Rom. 16, 25. 26: "Now to Him that is of power to stablish you according to my Gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith." We have here a testimony uttered in clear words to the effect that since the beginning of the world the Gospel could not be evolved from reason. It was made known only in this way, that the Holy Ghost gave it to holy men of God by inspiration.

Observe what an important difference this is. All religions retain parts of the Law. Some of the heathen have even progressed as far as to understand that an inward cleansing of the soul, a purification of thoughts and desires, is necessary. But there is not a particle of the Gospel found anywhere outside of the Christian religion. — Had the Law not been written into men's hearts, no one would listen to the preaching of the Law, but everybody would turn aside. People would say: "This is cruel; surely, nobody can keep it!" But do not forbear preaching the Law! Men may revile; however, they do so with their mouths only; for what you preach to them, their own conscience preaches to them every day. Nor should we convert any person by our Gospel if the Law did not prepare the way. We should convert no one if the Law had not been written in men's hearts. Of course, I am speaking of God as He has revealed Himself and has laid down a definite order of salvation. He might indeed have saved all men by His mere will.

In the second place, Law and Gospel differ as regards their contents. The Law tells us what we must do. Of this the Gospel says nothing, but reveals to us only what God does. The

Law speaks of our works, the Gospel of the mighty works of God. In the Ten Commandments you find the tenfold appeal: "Thou shalt!" Beyond this the Law has nothing to say to us. The Gospel, on the other hand, makes no demand. Do not say: "Why, it does demand faith!" Just imagine a hungry person invited to sit down at the table and to eat. Would he say: "Pshaw, I will take no orders from you!"? No, he will take your words as a kind invitation. It is the same when you preach the Gospel. The Gospel is a kind invitation to partake of heavenly treasures.

Gal. 3, 12: "And the Law is not of faith: but, The man that doeth them shall live in them." A passage of the utmost importance! The Law knows nothing of forgiveness, nothing of grace. The Law does not say: "If you repent and amend your life, all else will be condoned." Not a word of this is found in the Law. The Law only commands and demands. The Gospel only offers; its nature is not to take, but to give. Accordingly, we read:

John 1, 17: "The Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." The Gospel bears nothing but grace and truth. Oh, how important is this! When we read and search the Law, and measure ourselves by its rule, we shall be terrified at the numerous demands made upon us. And if we had nothing besides the Law, we should have to resign ourselves to despair, we would be lost. God be praised! we have still another doctrine, the Gospel, and to this we cling.

Law and Gospel differ, in the third place, as regards their promises. The Law promises a boon just as great as the Gospel, viz., everlasting life and salvation, however, with this great difference: all promises of the Law are made on certain conditions, namely, on condition that we perfectly fulfill the Law. Hence, its promises are as sorry as they are great. It holds out food to us, however, without placing it within our reach. Its offer of salvation is made as to Tantalus. It does indeed say to us: "I will quench the thirst and satisfy the hunger of thy soul," but is unable to effect this; for it ever adds: "You

shall have what I promise, provided you do what I command." — How different is the gracious, sweet, and comforting Gospel! It promises God's grace and salvation to us unconditionally. It is a promise of free grace. It makes no demands beyond this: "Accept my offer, and you have it." That is not a condition, but merely a kind invitation.

Lev. 18, 5: "Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live in them." Accordingly, no one else shall be saved by the Law.

In Luke 10, 26 ff. Christ replies to the self-righteous lawyer, saying: "What is written in the Law? how readest thou?" And when the lawyer had answered correctly: "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself," Christ tells him: "This do, and thou shalt live." Here the Lord testifies that by the rule of the Law only he who fulfills the Law can obtain salvation. Now, this condition plunges us into despair.

Instructing His disciples what they should preach, the Lord said: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." No condition, then, is attached to the Gospel, but it is a promise of grace.

Again, we read Rom. 3, 23. 24: "There is no difference: for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."

Eph. 2, 8. 9: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." — Unconditional promises of grace and salvation are found in the Gospel. Oh, what a precious difference! When the Law has cast us down, we may joyfully lift up our heads again; for we have a doctrine besides the Law, which makes no demands whatever. Were we to inquire of Christ: "What is it that must be performed on my part toward my salvation?" He would answer: "Not any works; I have

accomplished all; you need not drink a drop of my cup." If you duly ponder this, my friends, you will exult and rejoice greatly, because these glad tidings have been brought to you also. If any one still hangs his head, saying within himself: "I am a wretched man; there is no forgiveness for me," he rejects the Gospel, yea, Christ. If I had committed the greatest sins, and were constrained to say with Paul: "I am chief of sinners," and were burdened with the sin of Judas, I ought still to accept the Gospel, for it demands nothing of me.

Law and Gospel differ, in the fourth place, as regards their threats. The Gospel contains no threat whatever, but only consolation. Wherever in Scripture you meet with a threat, you may rest assured that it belongs to the Law. He would be a blessed man indeed who would lay this comfort to heart! But it is for the Holy Spirit to effect this in every man. No man is able to effect it unless by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Unless the Holy Spirit effects this in a person, the person remains faithless. However, you are not to imagine that the Gospel makes men secure because it utters no threat. No, the Gospel removes in a believer the desire to sin. — The Law, on the other hand, cannot issue anything but threats. As Abraham drove Hagar into the wilderness with a piece of bread and a bottle of water, so the Law hands us a piece of bread and hurries us off into the wilderness.

Deut. 27, 26: "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this Law to do them. And all the people shall say, Amen." Aye, man is called upon by the Law to invoke a curse upon himself. No one but a person shrouded in hellish darkness can imagine that he will be able to manage the Law. The Gospel proceeds in an entirely different way. Paul says, 1 Tim. 1, 15: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief." So, even the chief of sinners receives no threat, but only the sweetest promise.

Luke 4, 16—21: "And He came to Nazareth, where He had been brought up: and, as His custom was, He went into

the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto Him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when He had opened the book, He found the place where it is written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. And He closed the book, and He gave it again to the minister, and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on Him. And He began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your eyes." Here the Lord tells what are the contents of His doctrine, or of the Gospel. He meant to say: "I am not come to bring a new Law, but to proclaim the Gospel." In His preaching there is nothing but comfort and salvation for sinners. Oh, what a happy man is he who truly knows this! May God aid us all to such knowledge!

Addison, Ill. F. KOENIG.

BOOK REVIEW.

COUNTRY SERMONS. *New Series.* Vol. I. Lenten, Confessional, and Funeral Sermons. By *Rev. F. Kuegele*, a Lutheran Country Parson. Augusta Publishing Co., Crimora, Va. VI and 326 pp. Cloth. Price, $1.00, postpaid.

The book opens with a double series of Lenten sermons, seven sermons to the series. The texts for the first series are all from the Old Testament (Is. 1, 27; Gen. 3, 14. 15; 14, 18—20; 22, 7. 8; Lev. 16, 6—11; Zech. 11, 10—14; Is. 63, 1—4). The texts for the second series are from both Testaments (Is. 58, 5—7; Zech. 13, 1. 2; 6. 7; John 13, 1; 1 Pet. 1, 10. 11; Rev. 5, 8—10; Is. 11, 10). The general scope of the first series appears to be the *munus sacerdotale*. The themes presented are: I. Christ's death the legal ransom for our souls; 1. necessity of ransom; 2. nature of ransom required;

3. the use we should make of it. II. Christ's suffering foretold in the promise of the Woman's Seed; 1. sentence pronounced on serpent; 2. promise given to man. III. Christ our Melchizedek; 1. Christ prefigured by Melchizedek; 2. brings what Melchizedek typified. IV. Isaac's offering a figure of Christ's sacrifice; 1. compare two offerings; 2. gird loins to walk in faith of Abraham. V. Sacrifice of atonement a type of Christ; 1. meaning and fulfillment of those types; 2. what we must do to have part in atonement. VI. Jesus sold; 1. how by Jews; 2. how yet by many. VII. Christ's war and victory; 1. bloody warfare; 2. victory by His blood. In the second series the wrong and the right kind of fasting furnish the theme for the first discourse. The series closes with a discourse on Christ's glorious rest: 1. in the grave, 2. in the Church. The second to the sixth discourse elaborate particular features of the suffering of the Lord and the blessings resulting therefrom: II. Fountain of grace in blood of Christ; 1. the fountain itself; 2. duty of those who wash in it. III. Threefold prophecy of Christ's suffering; 1. wounded in house of friends; 2. smitten by the Father; 3. deserted by disciples. IV. Love of Jesus Christ; 1. fountain of our salvation; 2. ensample for us. V. Christ's suffering according to Scripture; 1. compare prophecy and fulfillment; 2. how this must serve to strengthen our faith. VI. Great fruit of great sin offering; 1. greatness of offering; 2. greatness of effect. — These sermons are not only correct restatements of the truths of redemption, but they have also been elaborated with exquisite care, and the care extends not to the plot only, but to every detail. There is order and sequence in them, the discourse moves strictly within the confines of the text, the context, in many cases, furnishes the material of the introduction, and with masterful ease Scripture references bearing on the matter in hand are brought in to illumine the text. There are passages of great power in these sermons; *e. g.*, Isaiah's vision of the hero coming from Edom (p. 47); the two Fridays so important to man, that of the week of creation and of the week of atonement (p. 76); Isaac's attitude during the ascent to Mount Moriah and his conduct during the preparation for his sacrifice (p. 27); Jesus as our scapegoat (pp. 35 f. 37); Jesus wounded in the house of His friends (p. 72); the two Christs of the Old Testament, the lowly servant and the glorious king (p. 100); the Lord entering into His rest (p. 102); the three priestly acts of the Day of Atonement (p. 34 f.); Judas's bargain (p. 41); the wandering Jew (p. 43); the blood drained from Jesus to the last drop (p. 50); the fasting hypocrite (p. 59); love and strife-making (p. 81); the satanic forces

assailing Jesus (p. 14); the difference between the priesthood of Aaron and Melchizedek (pp. 18. 20. 21). The effect of the curse on the serpent is described with the quaint imagery of Luther (pp. 12. 13). The author occasionally introduces a Scripture phrase with the meaning of which the average reader is not acquainted, and succeeds, by a few remarks, to make it very clear and comforting; *e. g.*, "making a joyful noise unto the Lord" (p. 32); "truth in the inward parts" (p. 36); "Thy rod and Thy staff" (p. 39); "sin and uncleanness" (p. 66); "awake, O sword" (p. 74); "the devils believe" (p. 81). The author has a fine gift of illustrating Scripture truth by well-chosen examples from life, which aid the clearness of the deeper truths expounded and add a touch of liveliness to the discourse. *E. g.*, setting forth that the ransom paid for us "must be a lawful one, both in kind and value," he proceeds: "In our commonwealth the law imposes a penalty of five dollars for killing birds. Now if a breaker of this law offers a bushel of corn in payment of the fine, that will not satisfy the law, because the fine is to be paid in money, not in corn. And if he offers four dollars in coin, it will still not answer, because it falls short of the amount which the law imposes," etc. (p. 5.) Again, to show what use we should make of our liberty this illustration is brought in: "In old England when prisoners were pardoned they were dismissed from durance with the three Latin words: 'Exite, Gaudete, Cavete:' Go forth, Rejoice, Beware! Come out of your cell, rejoice over your liberty, and beware lest you get into prison again. The price of your liberty has been paid down by the Son of God. Therefore: Exite: Come out of the kingdom of darkness," etc. (p. 7.) Again: "There is no other reptile which man is so intent to kill, and yet serpents remain in the most populous regions. Man cannot altogether exterminate them, even as he cannot purge all the seed of the old serpent out of his own nature." (p. 13.) "When a king wants a small service performed, he sends a menial servant; when he wants a great object accomplished, he will send his most competent minister or his own son. Now God sends His only-begotten Son," etc. (p. 97.) And many more. — The author not only states the truth, but also refutes error. His opening sermon is really a complete answer of the Unitarian (Socinian) argument of a salvation without the proffer of a ransom. He answers the skeptic (pp. 11. 12); the modern theologian who "harmonizes" Scripture (pp. 29. 72. 73); popery (pp. 53. 56); the evolutionist (p. 84). — And, last not least, these lessons of the Lord's suffering which have the power to stir the heart, as no other stories of Holy Writ, are made useful as examples for the Chris-

tian's conduct under grace. Everywhere there is a direct appeal, not only to faith, but also to a conduct consistent with faith. Even so small a matter as aiding a poor boy at his studies (p. 24 f.) the author has connected with the fact that rich Abraham paid tithes.

The second part of the book (pp. 109—200) contains sixteen addresses to communicants. Of these the first (Matt. 26, 26—28: The Lord's Supper a pledge and seal of the forgiveness of sin) is almost of sufficient length to be used for a discourse on Maundy Thursday; the eighth (John 19, 30: Trust in Christ's atoning death a communicant's true worthiness) is intended for use on Good Friday; the ninth is from Rom. 4, 23—25: Right preparation for Easter communion. The third (Matt. 3, 1—3: Prepare ye the way of the Lord!) may be used during Advent; the fourth is for Christmas Day (2 Cor. 8, 9: Hunger for the riches of Christ the right preparation for communion); the fifth for New Year's Eve [or New Year's Day] (Hos. 10, 12: The end of the year a peculiarly proper time to turn from sin and to seek righteousness). The remainder, in numerical order, are from the following texts: 1 Cor. 6, 9—11: A communicant's true worthiness consists in repentance and faith; Ezek. 33, 11: God's oath a strong inducement to repentance and faith; Ex. 34, 6—9: What must a communicant do to be accepted with the Lord? Rom. 7, 22—25: The law of sin in our members; Ex. 15, 26: Jesus our Healer; 2 Cor. 1, 12: A communicant consulting his own conscience; Rom. 2, 4: God's goodness leading to repentance; 1 Thess. 5, 23. 24: Thoroughness of sanctification; Rom. 5, 20. 21: The lively knowledge of sin and grace a communicant's true worthiness; 1 Cor. 11, 23—26: Three reasons for frequent communions. It is in addresses of this character that a pastor's concern and skill are exhibited. Rightly dividing the word of truth, fearless in proclaiming the Law, not stinting in dispensing the comfort of the Gospel, alert in observing particular sins besetting his flock, our author as a faithful steward distributes to each his due portion. These confessional addresses alone will make this book a necessarium in a pastor's library, the more so, because this is the first collection of its kind to make its appearance in our midst.

The third part of the book (pp. 202—326) contains twenty-three funeral sermons, thirteen of which are reprints from vol. II of the author's well-known "Country Sermons," [1] the entire stock of which was destroyed in the Baltimore fire of February 7, 1904. The new sermons are: John 13, 7: The Lord's threefold comfort for sorrow-

1) See Book Review of THEOL. QUART., vol. I, pp. 221—227.

ing parents; Mark 10, 4: Suffer the little children to come; Deut. 33, 3: Her life (a virgin's) and death a proof of God's love to her; Ps. 32, 8: God's guidance the trust and comfort of orphans at the grave of their mother; Rom. 6, 23: Death wages, life God's gracious gift (preached at the funeral of a stranger); Job 19, 25—27: Faith in a living Redeemer the comfort in death; Ps. 17, 15: An aged Christian's longing and expectation; John 6, 40: When can we die in cheerful hope? Rev. 14, 13: The moment of death; John 11, 23—27: Christ the Resurrection and the Life. True comfort with a nice discrimination to the needs of the parties addressed is found in every one of these sermons.

The publisher announces a list of further volumes of sermons by the same author in the immediate future. We wish the undertaking a large measure of success, for sermons like these deserve to be published and studied. D.

LESSONS PREPARED FOR THE USE OF SUNDAY AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS, by *Theo. Graebner*. First Series. Part I. First Grade. Lutheran Publication House, Decorah, Iowa. 83 pp. Price, 20 cts.; in quantities, 25% reduction.

The author of these Lessons strikes out in a new path, — new as regards general usage at the present time, — and thus will have to submit to the test of experience for the final award of merit on his work. But we entertain little doubt that intelligent and faithful application of the rules laid down for the use of these Lessons will result in a highly favorable verdict. For the entire plan, arrangement, and scope of the work have been chosen with so much care, forethought, and wisdom, especially as regards limitation of matter, that good results must follow from its persistent use. The bane of every sort of teaching, the cramming process, has been avoided. Each lesson contains not more matter than a teacher can reasonably expect to teach effectively in the space of one hour. In fact, we apprehend but one danger to these Lessons: the Sunday school teacher, generally a very uncertain element, may not rise equal to the task assigned him. It will be simply impossible for him to face his class without previous preparation, unless he is trained to the profession of teaching the Lutheran Catechism and Bible History, or possesses special gifts for teaching and has himself been an extraordinarily good catechumen. However, far from regarding this feature as detrimental to the work, we rather rejoice to note its in-

troduction. The Sunday school teacher certainly ought to prepare for his work, or he must not be allowed to teach. He should prepare by prayer and study. The former preparation must be assumed, but the latter can be enforced, guided, and controlled. And we heartily welcome any scheme which insures this latter preparation.

The author's references in this booklet are to books in use in his synod, and for this reason the introduction or adoption of the Lessons will probably be limited to his synod. But the method proposed in the Lessons appears to us to be of sufficient importance to justify an extended notice. We shall allow the author to explain his plan and method. He says in an extended "Introduction," which is to serve for the entire series:

> The material is arranged in four concentric courses and is intended to cover an average year's work in each of the four grades or classes. . . . On a given Sunday, all pupils in these grades will study the First Commandment, on another, the Tenth Commandment, on another, the First Petition, and in the final assignments, The Sacrament of the Altar, — the treatment of these topics being carefully graded to suit the increasing powers of assimilation and comprehension of the pupil.
>
> All the lesson-material is old, as old as Lutheran doctrine and biblical truth, and the method is likewise many centuries old, though probably not applied to the instruction of Sunday school classes heretofore. Nor does any special claim of novelty attach to the principle which governed the selection and arrangement of the material, this, namely, that the child, should, at the very beginning of its religious education, be brought to *a living knowledge of Christ the Savior.* To attain this end it seems evident that the child should at the very outset become intimately acquainted 1) with the principal facts in the history of the Savior's life and work; 2) with that incomparable compend of Christian truth — Luther's Small Catechism, and 3) with such passages from the Scriptures as will illustrate the doctrines embodied in the Catechism. The lesson material, accordingly, consists of Bible History, Catechism, and Bible Texts, both Bible History and Text being for the purpose of instruction classified under the assignments from the Catechism. We shall briefly discuss each of these elements, and their interrelation.
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> 1. *The Catechism.* The new English translation, published this fall by the Lutheran Publishing House, of Decorah, for the Norwegian Synod, has been used. It will be noted that Luther's Explanation of the Decalogue and of the Creed have been withheld in the first grade and have been added in the following. This has been done for practical considerations. The child must first be taught those things which lie *nearest* its mind and which it will soonest understand as it grows older. There is a large number of Bible passages which can be more readily grasped (if not fully understood) by a child seven or eight years of age than the "explanations" of the Commandments. A child at this age would be able to make use of only a fraction of Luther's beautiful explanation of the First Article, and will spend a long time on committing it to memory, but it will not fail to understand the text there subjoined (Lesson XI): "The Lord is good to all." No child of normal faculties will, at the age of seven years, fail to grasp the essential meaning of such passages as "Call upon me in the day of trouble," "Speak not evil one of another" — in fact, of any of the texts here quoted, when these have been explained by the teacher in their relation to the respective parts of the Catechism, as indicated by the Questions for Study and Review. As one or two years'

instruction in the infant class precedes the First Grade, a knowledge of the Lord's Prayer may here be taken for granted and part of the "explanation" is added.

2. *The Bible Histories.* In the manual for First Grade work, these have been selected according to their value as presenting the main facts of the Savior's life. They are not, in the first eleven lessons, arranged in relation to the portions of the Catechism there given. It was deemed more important to furnish at the very outset the principal facts in the life of Christ, leading up to the truths of the Second Article. From the thirteenth lesson on the selections are made to illustrate the Catechism material. An effort has been made to present the more important stories and parables repeatedly, with modifications of treatment.

3. *The Bible Texts.* Only such have been chosen for the earlier grades as commended themselves by their simple wording and directness of application. They have, in grades I and II, not been chosen in the order of their absolute importance, but according to their being suitable for work in these grades. They have all been taken from the new Explanation published by the Norwegian Synod this fall. Texts are omitted when the portion of the Catechism is of unusual length; this was unavoidable in the four concluding lessons of the First Grade manual. Occasionally proof texts appear under different sections in manuals and "Explanation."

In the manuals I and II selections from the English hymnal published by the Norwegian Synod are given.

The Questions for Study and Review have been added mainly as a guide to the teacher. *They are not Catechetical* and must be amplified and re-worded to suit the individual needs of the class. They are intended to point out the limits of instruction, are suggestive of the manner in which the topic should be approached, how the Bible Stories should be applied, and what points in the "Explanation" are to be brought out in this or that lesson. If no questions are furnished for such terms as "communion of saints," "the new testament in my blood," and others, this has been done to indicate that the teacher must not endeavor to explain every item in the textual material, but should reserve the explanation of some parts until the easier portions have been in a measure mastered. Questions touching upon items easily neglected by unskilled teachers, or upon matters given special emphasis in a certain course, are usually repeated a number of times, either verbally or by paraphrase (as for instance the question: "what were the disciples?" in the present grade). "Yes-or-no" questions are used very sparingly.

The "Notes for the teacher" have been much altered and amplified as they now appear. In addition to these notes each manual will contain introductory remarks to the teacher, dealing with questions of instruction and class-management. A casual glance will reveal to a regularly trained teacher many remarks and cautions in this body of notes that must seem self-evident and unnecessary in his case; it should be remembered that the manuals are prepared first of all for the use of teachers who have no special pedagogical training.

There are, no doubt, other features in the curriculum here outlined which will appear strange to the theorist. Objection may be raised that some sections of the Catechism receive only limited treatment, there are omissions and condensations — the course is incomplete. It was intended to be so. The manuals are based upon the new "Explanation" now in course of publication, and are intended as an introduction to this same "Explanation." The various facts of Christian belief which have been assembled in these lessons along concentric lines, adapted to the growing intellect of the child, are there (in the "Explanation") collected and amplified into system, an organic compend of doctrine — capsheaf and keystone to a course of instruction in the saving truths of Holy Writ.

The following remarks show the earnest work required of the teachers and students of these Lessons:

These lessons have been prepared for use in the First Grade, that is to say, in the grade following the Infant Class. The term "Infant Class" ought to be restricted to such members of the Sunday school as are not yet able to read. No more than five or six children ought to be in charge of one teacher. When more pupils are entered in one grade, start parallel classes, doing the same work, but under a separate instructor. Pupils in the first grade will average from seven to nine years of age.

Start the class as a whole on the first lesson. Work in this as in all other grades must be Class Work. The same lesson must be explained to all members on one Sunday; the same lesson must be recited by all members of the class on the following Sunday. This is "class work." No one would ever think of giving a class of ten pupils in Arithmetic seven different assignments taken from as many different sections of the book; the ten would no longer be a class. Yet this method of procedure is very common in Sunday schools everywhere. It should be evident that if each pupil in a class of five is given a separate lesson, each will receive one-fifth of the attention he is entitled to.

Occasionally a pupil has been absent. He may either be told to "make up" the lessons missed, as best he can, or the teacher may spend ten or fifteen minutes with him *after the regular classes have been dismissed.* But in every case the pupil must continue with the class, studying the same assignments. It will not do to break up class work and the uniformity of the school for the sake of one or two backward students.

The Catechism and Bible Texts are to be committed to memory; also the hymns, whenever the class is able. The Bible History element is taken mainly from Vogt, but the teacher is expected to read up chapter and verse of Scripture indicated. Don't waste time with "Sunday school stories."

The teacher should *prepare* the lessons regularly. This is an indispensable condition of successful work. Basis for such preparation are the "Questions for Study and Review." Formulate to yourself an answer to each question. Also in reading the Bible Stories assigned take note of all points which form the basis of the question material. The method of presentation is further outlined in the "Notes for the teacher."

When the class meets, devote the first half of the session to a review of the lesson assigned last Sunday. Follow, *in every lesson throughout the year,* the plan indicated in the Notes under Lessons 1 and 2 of this manual. The second half (approximately) of each session should then be devoted to the study of the lesson to be assigned. This is not accomplished by telling the class: "For next Sunday study the next lesson," but by *explaining* the new assignment to the class. To take a concrete example: The sixth session would be occupied first with a *review* of the Fifth Commandment, and of the Text and Story presented in Lesson 5; this is done by asking the questions under Lesson 5. Then follows the *explanation* of Lesson 6. Tell the children the story of the wedding at Cana. Follow this up by asking all the questions given under Lesson 6. Of course, the teacher will in many instances supply the answer himself or explain the answer given in brackets. This is the vital part of the entire session. Here the teacher becomes instructor. After making sure that his explanations of the Catechism and Bible texts are understood, and that the Story is well in mind, he may at last say: "Now study all this for next Sunday." — Does it seem unnecessary to outline a plan of procedure as simple as the above? Yet it is the neglect of such elementary rules of school and class management that results in the astonishing state of affairs which is revealed to the pastor when he takes up the Epitome with his Catechumens.

As a sample of the work prepared for the class we offer the second lesson on the Third Article.

LESSON 21.

THE THIRD ARTICLE. (2.)

I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

Bible Text: John 5, 28: The hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice.

Bible History: The Rich Man and Lazarus (after death). Luke 16, 19—31.

Thus may we abide in union
With each other and the Lord,
And possess, in sweet communion,
Joys which earth cannot afford. No. 147, 2.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND REVIEW.

Who was Lazarus? What is said about the Rich Man? Where was Lazarus after death? Who carried his soul into heaven? Where was the Rich Man? Whom did he see afar off? What did he ask of Abraham? Why did he not receive comfort in his pain? When had he received good things? [During his life on earth.] Why was the Rich Man lost and why did Lazarus go to heaven?

Which words of the third article speak of "heaven"? ["Life everlasting."] When does our soul enter heaven? When does our body? [On judgment day.] What shall take place on judgment day? ["The resurrection of the body."] Whose bodies shall arise? Why do we believe that our bodies shall be raised up? [The Bible says so; John 5, 28.] Whose voice shall the dead hear? [The voice of Jesus.]

NOTES FOR THE TEACHER.

1) Try to make clear, *a*) that we live after death, *b*) that there are only two states after death, *c*) that the soul enters heaven (or hell) immediately after death, and *d*) that the human body is once more united with the soul on the day of resurrection.

2) Do not rest satisfied with such answers as: "The Rich Man was bad," "Lazarus was good." This is the ordinary, irritating reply in Sunday school classes, born of the view fostered by the public school rhymes — "all good people go to heaven," etc. Accept no other reply than this: "The Rich Man did not believe in Christ, Lazarus did," or: "Lazarus loved the Word of God, the Rich Man did not." The Rich Man is not described as "bad" *in the ordinary sense*, in the Gospel.

We have been purposely lavish in our notice of this little publication, firstly, because the Sunday school, being a new factor in our church, many pastors and laymen are interested in its progress and development, and any effort to give it definite shape and form and to reduce Sunday school instruction to something like a system readily commands attention and will be watched with interest; secondly, because the author has designed his booklet for use also in parochial schools and hence appeals to the judgment of that large class of Christian workers in our Lutheran day schools. Not a few

of these are confronted with the question: Must we introduce religious teaching in English? These persons, too, will be interested to know what efforts are being made elsewhere in the direction indicated, and what measures prove themselves efficient. — Our Norwegian brethren, in their churches and schools, are passing through the same changes as regards language as we. These changes may affect them even at an earlier period and on a larger scale than us. Our interest therefore in every endeavor put forth among them for insuring thorough religious instruction to the children of the church is quickened by brotherly sympathy and goes out, in particular, to the prospective students of the booklet before us with the earnest wish that they may be richly blessed in its perusal. D.

THE WAY TO LIFE. Fifty-three short sermons by *Henry Sieck*, Lutheran Pastor, etc. Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis. VIII and 232 pp. Price, $1.50, postpaid.

Nobody who has read the author's "Sermons on the Gospels for the Ecclesiastical Year" expects from him anything but sound, plain exposition of Scripture truth. This expectation meets with no disappointment in the volume before us. "The Way to Life" is a collection of sermons on christological and soteriological subjects. It opens with an introductory discourse from Is. 30, 21 (The way to life for earthly wanderers: 1. a way which God has clearly pointed out; 2. a way which all men are commanded to walk). Next follows a group of twelve sermons expository of the truth that salvation is *by grace*. The opening sermon in this group from Ex. 34, 6. 7 presents the characteristic qualities of grace and its relation to salvation (Our salvation by grace: 1. what grace is; 2. how by grace we are saved). The author describes grace as the "disposition of God whereby He is moved to be merciful and gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, and to keep mercy for thousands," which disposition "herein culminates that He forgives sin in every shape and form, whether it be considered as iniquity, that is, a defilement of the soul, or as transgression, that is, a plain departure from the rule of the divine Law, or as sin plainly, that is, an offense against that which is right." (p. 8 f.) The author proceeds to discuss, in two sermons, grace in connection with its Scriptural contrary, human merit (Rom. 11, 6: Grace and works exclude each other: 1. grace excludes works; 2. works exclude grace. Eph. 2, 8. 9: A positive and a negative statement as to our salvation: 1. a

positive; 2. a negative statement). The next sermon introduces the Grace-bearer, Christ (Acts 15, 11: Salvation through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ: 1. that there is no grace without Christ; 2. that through His grace we obtain salvation). This sermon might well have been followed by the one from 2 Cor. 8, 9, which has been moved forward three places (The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ: 1. wherein it consists; 2. what it effects). Particular effects of grace are discussed in three sermons (1 Cor. 5, 10: Conversion and the grace of God: 1. that we owe our conversion to the grace of God; 2. that we receive the grace of God in vain, if we are not converted. Rom. 3, 22—24: Justification freely by His grace: 1. justification freely; 2. justification by His grace. Tit. 2, 11—14: The glorious grace of God: 1. bringing salvation to all men; 2. sanctifying all who receive this grace in the faith). The four remaining discourses of this group present the divinely appointed "channels through which grace flows" (pp. 44. 55) to the sinner (Acts 20, 32: The Word of His grace: 1. what it is; 2. what it effects. John 1, 17: Grace contrasted with the Law: 1. as to their intrinsic difference; 2. as to the way in which they are applied; 3. as to their founders. John 15, 3: The Word of Christ a means of grace: 1. in what sense the Word of Christ is a means of grace; 2. how the Word of God is applied to us through the means of grace. 1 John 3, 8: The Holy Sacraments are means of grace: 1. Baptism; 2. Sacrament of Altar is such). — In the next group, embracing twenty-eight discourses, the author is occupied with the Author and Finisher of salvation: the way to life is shown to be *in Christ*. The first three discourses in this group take a general view of the work of Christ (1 Tim. 4, 10: Christ our Savior — the way to life: 1. He is the Savior of all men; 2. specially of those that believe. Is. 48, 16. 17: Christ our Redeemer — the way to life: 1. what a great Redeemer we have in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2. how as our Redeemer He is the way to life [the reference to the Trinity contained in this text prompts the author to suggest its use for Trinity Sunday, and to discuss the doctrine of the Trinity in the introduction]. 1 Tim. 2, 5. 6: Christ our Mediator — the way to life: 1. how Christ is our Mediator; 2. how as our Mediator He is the way to life). Next follow three sermons on the offices of Christ (Luke 7, 16: Christ our Prophet — the way to life: 1. that Christ as our Prophet has proclaimed to us the way to life; 2. how sure we can be that the way He has pointed out is the true way. Hebr. 9, 11. 12: Christ our High Priest, etc.: 1. the High Priest of good things to come; 2. the High Priest who obtained for us eternal redemption. Dan. 7, 13. 14: Christ our King, etc.:

1. what the kingdom of Christ is; 2. how in His kingdom Christ is the way of life). Various names and titles of Christ, exhibiting particular features of His work and His relation to the sinner before, during, and after His redeeming work on earth, furnish the author matter for twelve discourses (John 1, 29: Christ the Lamb of God, etc.: 1. why He is called thus; 2. how, as the Lamb of God, He is the way to life. John 8, 12: Christ the light of the world, etc.: 1. why He calls Himself thus; 2. how, as the light, etc. Hebr. 13, 20. 21: Christ our Shepherd, etc.: 1. what a great Shepherd we have in Christ; 2. how, as our Shepherd, etc. Hebr. 2, 9. 10: Christ the Captain of our salvation, etc.: 1. why thus called; 2. how, as the Captain, etc. Prov. 18, 24: Christ our Friend, etc.: 1. what the title "Friend" implies; 2. how, as our Friend, etc. Rom. 8, 31. 32: Christ the Son of God, etc.: 1. in what sense Christ is the Son of God; 2. how, as, etc. John 6, 32—35: Christ the Bread of Life, etc.: 1. Why does He call Himself thus? 2. How do we receive Him as the Bread of heaven? John 15, 5: Christ the way to life pictured as the Vine: 1. why thus pictured; 2. what our relation must be to Christ as the Vine, if for us He is to be the way to life. Mark 2, 16. 17: Christ the way to life as our Physician: 1. unto whom Christ is a Physician; 2. how, as a Physician, etc. John 10, 7—9: Christ the way to life as the Door to heaven: 1. in what sense Christ is the Door to heaven; 2. how we are to use this Door to heaven. 1 John 2, 1. 2: Christ the way to life as our Advocate: 1. what Christ does for us as our Advocate; 2. why Christ is successful in His work for us as our Advocate. Rom. 11, 26: Christ the Deliverer out of Sion: 1. the fact that He is such; 2. unto whom He is such. Acts 3, 14. 15: Christ the Prince of Life: 1. what this title implies as to the Lord; 2. what benefit we derive from it). Several of the sermons in this section are adapted for use at particular seasons, such as Good Friday (Acts 3, 14. 15, and John 1, 29), Maundy Thursday (John 6, 32—35), Easter (Hebr. 13, 20. 21, and 2, 9. 10), Pentecost (John 10, 7—9), for confessional services (Prov. 18, 24; John 15, 5; 1 John 2, 1. 2), etc. — In the four succeeding sermons the author discusses Old Testament prophecy relating to Christ as the way to life (Gen. 3, 15: The first promise concerning the Savior: 1. that He shall be the woman's Seed; 2. that He shall bruise the serpent's head. Gen. 49, 10: Christ the promised Shiloh: 1. that He really is Shiloh; 2. why He is called Shiloh. Numb. 24, 17: Christ the Star out of Jacob and the Scepter out of Israel: 1. the Star, because He is our Light and Guide; 2. the Scepter, because He is our King. Rev. 5, 3: Christ the Lion of the tribe of Judah and the Root of David:

1. the latter as to His person; 2. the former as to His office). These sermons the author has intended for use during the special services in Advent. He follows them up with three sermons for Christmas (Is. 9, 6: Two names applied to the Christ-child: 1. Wonderful; 2. Counselor. Is. 9, 6: Three names applied to the Babe of Bethlehem: 1. Mighty God; 2. Everlasting Father; 3. Prince of Peace. Is. 7, 14: Immanuel — the way to life: 1. who Immanuel is; 2. that He is the way to life). This group closes with two sermons which show that Christ is the only Savior (Acts 4, 12: No salvation without Christ: 1. the fact; 2. the reason why. John 14, 6: Our salvation in Christ alone: 1. in Christ; 2. in Christ alone). — The third group of eleven sermons treats salvation *through faith*. Subjective faith is described in the opening discourse from Hebr. 11, 1: What is faith? 1. The substance of things hoped for; 2. the evidence of things not seen. Two discourses follow, showing the origin of faith (Rom. 10, 17: How faith is produced: 1. by hearing; 2. by hearing the Word of God. Hebr. 12, 1. 2: Faith God's work in us: 1. as to its beginning; 2. as to its continuation unto the end). The activity of faith is described in four discourses (1 Tim. 6, 12: Faith the hand which receives the salvation: 1. in what sense faith is the hand which lays hold on salvation; 2. how we extend the hand of faith to receive salvation. 2 Cor. 5, 17: The change which faith produces in man: 1. old things are passed away; 2. all things are become new. Rom. 3, 28: Justification by faith without the deeds of the Law: 1. what justification by faith is; 2. how we are justified without the deeds of the Law. John 15, 8: Faith brings forth the fruit of good deeds: 1. how utterly impossible it is to have faith, and not to show forth the fruit of good deeds; 2. why faith brings forth this fruit). The remainder of the sermons in this group contrast living faith, dead faith, and unbelief: James 2, 14—24: The dead faith which does not save, (I. part) and the living faith which saves (II. part). Matt. 7, 17. 18: The fruit of (I) faith and the fruit of (II) unbelief. Mark 9, 23: The unlimited power of faith: 1. that the power of faith extends over all things; 2. that all things are possible to the believer. — The concluding discourse is from Ps. 103, 1—4 (Praise to God alone for our salvation: 1. to Him alone we owe the forgiveness of sin; 2. to Him alone we owe life everlasting). —

A certain quiet grace is spread over these discourses. The placid calm of a heart at rest in the faith of its Redeemer is mirrored in their thought and diction. Many were the occasions where the grandeur of text and theme might have carried the author to lofty heights — and away from his hearers. He has avoided them all.

In simple language and unadorned style, avoiding the confusing intricacies of involved discourse, the subject is presented in stages of easy progression, and the reader or hearer is slowly and surely guided into the height or depth of the text, unconscious of any effort on his part or of the distances which he is covering as he advances from one point to the other. A collection of discourses on subjects so closely related as are those set forth in the present volume was exposed to the danger of monotony and repetition. It is certainly no easy task, *e. g.*, to tell the same audience in twenty-eight different ways that Christ has saved them. Many a preacher would become tedious before his effort had been half completed. But there is not a dull paragraph in this entire collection. Every discourse has individuality. The same truths are told over and over again, but they are viewed each time from a different point of view, in a different connection, and are differently illumined. The pleasing and fascinating variety of Scripture in the midst of apparent sameness has been transferred to the pages of this book. Their contents pour in upon the mind with the regular rise and fall of ocean waves, each like the other, and each distinct and different from the other. — We feel sure to have sufficiently indicated the author's grasp of Scriptural knowledge both by the choice of his texts and the evolution of his themes therefrom. He has read his Bible closely, and would have his hearers read it in the same manner. (Comp. pp. 184. 213.) He appeals to the Confessions of our Church, wherever it suits his purpose. (Comp. pp. 193. 209.) He combats error, also modern error, *e. g.*, the Unitarian conception of redemption (p. 9 f.), the attack of a Chicago clergyman upon Luther's doctrine of justification (p. 12), the religion of lodges and all secret organizations (p. 19), the Universalists (p. 60), Christian Science (p. 124), our present-day Epicurians (p. 126), that form of Chiliasm which pretends to believe a general conversion of the Jews (p. 134), the Roman Catholic Bible perversion (p. 146), the modern preacher (p. 178). The author rarely draws upon outside sources for illustration of his argument, but when he does so, he cites occurrences near at home, *e. g.*, how they light a chandelier in the chapel of a Lutheran orphan asylum in New York (p. 143), Dr. Walther's advice to a theological student "whose Christian name was Henry" (p. 190).

The author has been charged with a misrepresentation of the act of justification, which he describes (p. 204) as a forensic process, thus: "In the justification of the sinner God acts like the judge who passes a verdict upon the criminal. . . . The moment the sinner truly believes on the Lord Jesus Christ this sentence and declaration is passed upon him in heaven, in the council of the Holy Trinity," etc.

Against this presentation it is being urged that it clearly bars out the teaching that God has justified all men in the moment of the resurrection of Jesus, and that the individual sinner in his subjective, or personal, justification merely accepts, by faith, the verdict passed upon him long ago. This charge is refuted by the author's own words (p. 33): "He justifies us all. *He has justified us when He raised Christ from the dead;* for 'Christ was delivered for our offenses, and raised again for our justification.' Shall we reject God's grace? . . . Shall we *refuse to accept God's justification?* No; let us," etc. Comp. p. 23: "Giving us His own dear Son for our redemption and justification;" p. 225: "Who can deny the fact that unbelief is the only sin which condemns? Has not God actually forgiven all sins to all men on His part? Was not Christ delivered for our offenses, and raised again for our justification? Does not Paul say in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans: 'Therefore as by the offense of one,'" etc. D.

In our last issue we printed the English oration which was delivered at the dedication of our new college building at Fort Wayne. The oration had been sent us for publication, and viewing it, in the main, as a restatement of the doctrine and practice of our Synod we did not hesitate to publish it. In this oration the following remark occurs (p. 41): "I dare say, a ministry not conversant with the original languages of the Bible is at best but a makeshift, to be supplanted as speedily as time and the properly directed zeal of the Christians will permit." The wrong meaning conveyed by these words had escaped us. We wish to herewith withdraw the statement. Luther's view of the matter in question is also our own. "It is one thing," he says, "to be a plain preacher of the faith, and quite another, to be an expounder of Scripture or, as Paul terms it, a prophet. True, a plain preacher, from interpretations (of the Scripture), is in possession of a sufficient number of clear texts and passages, so as to enable him to teach Christ, to lead a holy life, and to preach to others. However, he is not sufficient for interpreting and exactly expounding Scripture and for defending it against those who allege Scripture erroneously: this cannot be done without the languages." D.

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THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

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THE MISSOURI SYNOD AND DIETRICH'S CATECHISM.

The late Intersynodical Conference which was convened at Fort Wayne during August, 1905, had met for the stated purpose of examining the proof-texts of Scripture bearing on the doctrine of election. As frequently happens during discussions of this nature, matters not really essential to the business in hand were touched upon by the speakers. Thus the Fort Wayne Convention was advised that the Missouri Synod had adopted a new catechism for use in its churches and schools in lieu of Conrad Dietrich's Catechism, formerly the authorized catechism of the Missouri Synod; and that this action was tantamount to a repudiation of Missouri's former teaching on the subject of election, inasmuch as Dietrich's Catechism taught the doctrine which the Missouri Synod at present rejects. We quote the information as it was communicated to the public through church papers at the time.

Dietrich's Catechism was referred to in order to prove that the opponents of Missouri stand where this Synod (Missouri) stood formerly. Dietrich's edition of Luther's Smaller Catechism was for years published by the Missouri Synod and used in its churches. This catechism teaches on election: The grounds for election are threefold, to-wit: 1. the unfathomable goodness and mercy of God; 2. the unlimited atonement proclaimed in the Gospel; 3. the abiding saving faith in Christ. This catechism has for some years been replaced by another edition which, it is claimed, is in greater harmony with the present teaching of the Synod.

(Dr. Nicum in report to *The Lutheran* of August 31, 1905, regarding the Intersynodical Conference held at Fort Wayne, Ind., Aug. 8—10.)

The latter (the Joint Synod of Ohio, and the German Synod of Iowa, and some others) undoubtedly made a strong point against Missouri by showing that Dietrich's Catechism (that is, his edition of Luther's Small Catechism), which had been used in the churches of the Missouri Synod for many years, really occupied the position maintained by Ohio and Iowa, and that "this catechism has for years been replaced by another edition which, it is claimed, is in greater harmony with the present position of the Missouri Synod."

One would suppose that if it can be shown, from their own publications, that the Missouri theologians formerly taught what they do not teach now, there is some reason to hope that they may see the error of their way, and return to their former position, which, as their opponents claim, is that which has been and is held by the great majority of Lutheran theologians, as in accordance with the Scriptures and the Confessions of the Church.

(Editorial in *The Lutheran* of August 31, 1905.)

Now, as before stated, the question here raised was really foreign to the express purpose for which the Conference had met. For supposing that the claim of Missouri's opponents was correct, what would the opponents gain by it, so long as the acknowledged proof-texts of Scripture bear out Missouri in the pending controversy? The claim of the opponents necessarily implies that Missouri had discovered that Dietrich's Catechism was not in agreement with what Missouri considered Scriptural teaching on the subject of election. Let us assume that Missourians were mistaken in their view of what Scripture really teaches on that subject, still, if they thought that they had discovered the true teaching of Scripture and at the same time discovered a disagreement between the teaching of Scripture and their catechism, it became their duty to either change their catechism so as to bring it into harmony with Scripture, or, if that proved impracticable, to abolish the catechism. The consistency of faith would have demanded such action peremptorily, and Missouri would have been dishonest, had she failed to take such action. If her hymns were found to contain sentiments contrary to Scripture, those hymns must be expurgated, or the entire hymnbook withdrawn. If her liturgies were proven to deviate from the teaching of Scripture,

the liturgies must be cashiered. All this would be sound practice, in accordance with God's Word, and entitling the Missouri Synod to the praise and commendation of all lovers of purity, *i. e.,* strict scripturalness, of doctrine. Hence, the fact of the change in itself does not prove the Missouri Synod heterodox; for she might have become strictly orthodox through just such a change. The point to be established against Missouri is this: Has this synod, by adopting a new catechism, departed from the teaching of Scripture? Before this question every other question pales into insignificance. It is desirable that this question remain the paramount issue, if the public discussion of doctrinal differences between the Missouri Synod and her opponents is to be continued. And it has been chiefly for this reason that comparatively little has been said on our part since the Fort Wayne Convention regarding the misleading reports, that Missouri had for doctrinal reasons exchanged Dietrich's Catechism for another: we would like to keep the discussion to the main point at issue. For our part, the discussion of this matter of the change of catechism might be postponed, in order that the discussion of Scripture may not be disturbed. It appears, however, that our opponents really believe, as the editor of *The Lutheran* has conditionally stated, that "a strong point was made" by the introduction of this matter. And as silence might be construed to mean consent, it becomes a duty to speak.

We were astonished to find that the report to which we have referred could gain acceptance. For two things must be quite plain to men like those who were discussing election at Fort Wayne: 1. that the report misrepresents Dietrich's Catechism; 2. that it misrepresents the Missouri Synod.

No matter what Conrad Dietrich may have taught in his other writings, or what *τρόπος παιδείας* he may have adopted in presenting the doctrine of election, in his Catechism he does not say or teach that man was elected in view of faith. The claim that Dietrich's Catechism posits three causes of election, and that faith is one of these causes, rests, in a merciful esti-

mate, on a very superficial acquaintance with the teachings of this famous catechism.

The first mention[1] in this catechism of the subject of election occurs in Qu. 281:

Why is He called the Holy Ghost? Because He is the author of true holiness, and truly sanctifies all the elect.

It must be remembered that Dietrich is careful to distinguish between sanctification in the broad and in the narrow sense, between that sanctifying act by which the Holy Ghost leads men unto faith, works faith in them, grants them the power to believe, and between those sanctifying acts by which the Holy Ghost employs the faith already existent in men unto good works. In Qu. 281 he speaks of sanctification in the broad or wide sense; for his very next question reads:

What is meant by the sanctification of which the Third Article treats? It is properly that act of the Holy Spirit in which He calls us through the Gospel, enlightens us by His gifts, and sanctifies and preserves us in the true faith.

Eight questions further, after the doctrine of the call and the illumination of sinners have been treated (Qu. 290), Dietrich puts this question:

What is sanctifying, as used here in the narrow sense? It is the act of the Holy Spirit in which He sanctifies us through the Gospel in the true faith in Jesus Christ, and moves us to holy works which are pleasing to God.

Evidently, then, when Dietrich discusses the office of the Holy Ghost in general, before entering upon a detailed account of the various parts and functions of this office, and says: "The Holy Ghost truly sanctifies the elect," his meaning cannot be any other than that the Holy Ghost calls, gathers, enlightens, sanctifies, and preserves the elect. In Dietrich's view the elect whom the Holy Ghost sanctifies are not people who have already passed through the initial stages of the new life, have accepted the call of grace, and have been enlightened by grace, but people

1) "The elect" are first mentioned in Qu. 244 in connection with Christ's kingdom of glory.

for whom nothing at all of a spiritual nature has been done as yet. The Holy Ghost begins His operations upon them in their wicked natural state. He finds them, as He finds the rest of mankind, "dead in trespasses and sins," and "children of wrath." But He finds them also "the elect according to the foreknowledge of God," in spite of their trespasses and sins and their guilty state. And as He finds them, so He undertakes to sanctify them, from beginning to end. First He calls them. How does Dietrich view this act? Qu. 288 he says:

What is the call? It is the act of the Holy Spirit by which He through the Gospel graciously calls and gathers us, offers us the grace of God, and gives us power to accept it.

The call, according to this presentation, has a double force, that of the means by which it is effected: it presents grace and it confers grace; it conveys grace to the sinner, it bestows grace on the sinner, and it induces the sinner to accept grace. Mark well, this is the first act of that sanctification by which the Spirit sanctifies the elect, and which Dietrich has adduced as the second reason why He is called holy.

The first proof-text which Dietrich cites for the doctrine of the call is 2 Tim. 1, 9: "God hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." Dietrich's line of thought is quite plainly this, that the elect are called, because they are elect. Now it is Dietrich's teaching that the call makes believers. Accordingly, already at this point, at the very first mention of the subject of election in his catechism, Dietrich teaches that the elect believe, because they are elected. For, he teaches, 1) that the called are called, because they are elected; 2) that the believers believe, because they are called. It will not be easy to deduce from these premises any other conclusion than that the believers believe, because they are elected. If Dietrich had viewed the faith of the elect as antecedent to the act of their election, it would have been illogical, it would have been false for him to say: "The Holy Spirit sanctifies the

elect." He might, and must have said: "The Holy Spirit elects the sanctified." At least at this point, then, Dietrich's Catechism presents the divine election as a solid wall of grace, with not a chink in it for the *ex praevisa fide* theory to squeeze through and to light up the mystery of the antemundane counsels of God.

This presentation is not varied, when Dietrich takes up the subject of election for special elucidation, but the original teaching already exhibited in the initial questions of the Third Article is consistently maintained. Qu. 320 reads:

For whom is this glory and happiness of eternal life designed? Only for believers, who continue in the true faith unto their end, Matt. 24, 13; because for these, by the election of God, the kingdom is prepared from the foundation of the world. Matt. 25, 34.

What, then, is the divine election of grace? It is that act of God by which He, according to the purpose of His will, alone out of His grace and mercy in Christ has resolved to save all those who shall steadfastly believe in Christ, to the praise of His glorious grace.

This answer states what? It names, 1) the elector, *God;* it states, 2) the moving cause of election, *the purpose of His will, His grace and mercy in Christ;* it describes 3) the elect, *those who shall steadfastly believe in Christ;* it states, 4) the end or aim of election, *to the praise of His glorious grace.* The third point requires special attention. In his *Institutiones* Dietrich dissects this answer in exactly the same manner as we have done. Ad 3) he remarks: "Objectum electionis sunt homines (non angeli), et quidem non promiscue quivis, quoquo modo se habentes (contr. Huber. act. Huberian. part. 2. p. 7. 20), sed in Christum *perseveranter* credituri, quae descriptio electorum est a causis intermediis, nempe fide, ejusque relato, in Christum, et adjuncta perseverantia ad finem. *Praesupponitur autem causa efficiens fidei principalis Spiritus s. et intermedia ministerium verbi, per quod is fidem in renatis accendit.*" We would emphasize in this citation, firstly, that Dietrich declares that sub 3) he has given merely a "description of the elect as viewed from the standpoint of intermediary causes." We shall have occasion later to refer to the use of the term "cause"

by Dietrich and the old dogmaticians. Secondly, we wish to emphasize that Dietrich himself is very careful to add his *caveat* ad 3), viz., that faith must not be viewed in this matter aside from its efficient causes, the Spirit and the Word. Why this warning?!

The proof-texts which Dietrich offers for his statements in Qu. 321 are, first and foremost, the standard election text, Eph. 1, 3—6. The deep language of this text: "God hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, according as He hath chosen us in Him;" "God hath predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself;" "God in His grace" (comp. "wherein" with its antecedent) "hath made us accepted in the Beloved," — these profound utterances Dietrich has reduced to the simple statement: "God has elected believers in Christ." In this simple form he proposes to present the mystery of election to the child's mind, who shall use his catechism. — The second proof-text which he adduces is John 15, 16: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." This text is to rivet upon the reader's memory the *sola gratia* characteristic of the believer's election. Dietrich means to say: The believers in Christ who were chosen were not men who had chosen God. Now, if believing means deciding in favor of God, choosing God, which it certainly does mean, and if Dietrich wished to teach that the believers in Christ were elected, *because* they believed, it was misleading, it was incorrect, it was false to cite John 15, 16 at this place. For if it had been Dietrich's view that God elected in view of foreseen persevering faith in Christ, God would have chosen such as had chosen Him first, and such an act of God could never be substantiated by John 15, 16.

These are the only texts which Dietrich cites in full under this question, but he adds several references which he would have the reader look up in his Bible, viz., Matt. 25, 34: "Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." This reference brings out

the truth that those who enter heaven enter a place that was made ready for them before they ever had breath or being, and that they "inherit" their Father's possessions, not take possession of what they have acquired. For if one should argue that the following verses show *why* the kingdom was prepared for just these people, namely, that it was done on account of their God-pleasing conduct, he would have to assume as the reason in the divine mind for the *discretio personarum* not foreseen faith, but foreseen works. That would not be a mild synergism, but a veritable hyper-synergism, a synergism with a vengeance, a synergism that would virtually place the Day of Judgment ahead of the elective act, and represent God as suspending His choice until He has pronounced the verdict of the Day of Doom on the sinner's conduct on earth up to the very hour of his death; in other words, it would exhibit God as electing sinners unto eternal life after He has in His prescience beheld them dying in the faith, or as deciding that He will take them to Himself in heaven, after He has seen them go to heaven. What practical purpose such an election is to serve, this is, indeed, a mystery. — Dietrich's second reference is to Acts 13, 48: "As many as were ordained unto eternal life believed." This text illustrates, by way of an example, by an historical incident, who those believers in Christ are of whom Dietrich has said that God elected them: they were men like the Gentiles who had heard Paul preach at Antioch in Pisidia and had accepted his Gospel. And why did they believe? Because they "were ordained to eternal life," *i. e.*, elected. We should have to throw out of Dietrich's Catechism at this place this reference, too, if it were Dietrich's aim to teach an election *intuitu fidei*. — Phil. 4, 3 is the third reference: "I entreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which labored with me in the Gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellow-laborers, whose names are in the book of life." This and the four remaining references[2]) simply serve

2) Luke 10, 20: "Rejoice, because your names are written in heaven." Dan. 12, 1: "Thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found

to enrich the child's memory with a very sweet phrase of Scripture, and to impress the mysterious act of the election on the mind by a very forcible illustration.

We have given Dietrich's definition of election *in toto,* with all the Scripture proof which he offers. What does it teach? It names the causes of election and describes the elect. The elect, namely, are believing Christians. Now, this Qu. 321 is one of the questions which are said to have compelled the Missouri Synod to discard Dietrich's Catechism. All our opponents on the doctrine of election read these words: "God has resolved to save all those who shall steadfastly believe in Christ" thus: "God has resolved to save all those of whom He foresaw that they would," etc. If we had so read Dietrich, we should certainly have become suspicious. But we never read him thus. We do not believe that when a person states: God has elected believing Christians, that means: God foresaw that certain persons would believe, and elected them on the ground of such foreknowledge. We believe that if a person desires to express the latter sentiment, there is a way in the language of men to do that, but Dietrich's is not that way. Dietrich, in his catechism, simply states the sound doctrine, that the elect are believers, and not unbelievers. Dietrich, by his brief characterization of the elect, merely wants to preclude a Calvinistic conception of election, an election without any regard to the means and method of attaining the end of election.

That this is the sole and the whole reason why Dietrich says: "God elected believing Christians" is shown by the context. His next question reads:

> What is the nature of that decree of God, according to which He has resolved to save those who believe in Christ? It is not unconditional, but is so fixed, according to a certain order, as to embrace all the causes and means of our salvation.

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written in the Book." Rev. 20, 15: "Whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." Hebr. 12, 23: "To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven."

Here again the phrase, "not unconditional," has been cited against us. As a rule, two negatives amount to an affirmative. But that Dietrich does not understand "not unconditional" in the sense of "conditional" is shown by the adversative clause which he places over against the statement: "It is not unconditional;" for he proceeds, "But is *so fixed, according to a certain order.*" What Dietrich wishes to contrast is not a decree of election which imposes upon the person elect the fulfillment of a condition and a decree which imposes no such condition, but a decree which lays down the bare fact: This person shall be saved, and a decree which declares: This person shall be saved for this reason and in this manner. Now, if we bear in mind what Dietrich had before stated regarding the various stages of the *ordo salutis,* in particular, that he had denied to man all power whatever to prepare himself for the reception of divine grace, or to accept such grace, or to quicken spiritual life in his dead heart, and that his faith is by the operation of God, it is manifest that he has left no condition in the strict sense of the word to be fulfilled by the elect. What he seems to call a condition is, in reality, the plan or order which God has laid down for the salvation of sinners. We might call this an unhappy use of the term "conditional," and might prefer an apter phraseology, but since the author has by his presentation of the doctrine of conversion sufficiently guarded his teaching at this place against misconstruction, we do not find it impossible to connect a correct meaning with his words.

By this statement, then, Dietrich wishes to clear himself of all semblance of teaching an absolute election, an arbitrary, blind choice at random and haphazard. The nature of the divine decree of election, — this is what Dietrich wishes to say, — is that it proceeds according to a certain order; and that order is that "all the causes and means of our salvation" shall be "embraced" in the decree. In other words, in the decree of election God does not decide upon the bare fact that He will save someone, but He decides why and how He will save someone.

What are the causes and means as embraced in this decree? Dietrich names them in the question immediately following. This is *the renowned question which is said to teach a threefold cause of election,* and which is believed to have put Dietrich's Catechism out of commission in the Missouri Synod. The question reads:

What are those causes *and means* of salvation? 1. The boundless mercy of God, 2 Tim. 1, 9 (Qu. 288); 2. the infinite merit of Christ, which is to be proclaimed through the Gospel, Eph. 1, 3—6 (Qu. 321); 3. persevering faith in Christ, 2 Thess. 2, 13.

We have italicized the *punctum saliens* in this question. Dietrich does not use the term "cause" in this question, or elsewhere in his works, exclusively in its strict and native sense, to denote the power or efficient agent producing any thing or event, but, in employing this term, he follows, to a great extent, at least, scholastic usage, which in his days admitted of a wide and varied application. Even the end aimed at used to be denominated a "cause" in those days, namely, the final cause. *This explains why Dietrich can couple "causes" with "means."*[2b] He views salvation as the great end to be attained by the divine election, and he purposes to tell how this end is attained, what is the efficient agent or agents, and what the instrumental agent or agents for securing the end. All these he names in one compacted statement, without separating the forces that move God from the forces that move man towards the achievement of the end of salvation. His second division couples the merit of Christ with the Gospel. Logically and materially these are two separate objects, and if exact logical precision had been Dietrich's aim, he should undoubtedly have divided them, and instead of naming three "causes and means"

2b) A curious parallel is found in Luther's Church Postil (second sermon for First Sunday after Trinity, Erlang. Ed. 12, 437): "Christ begins to teach what is the new birth, and how it is effected, though at this place He does not yet comprise all points which belong to it, but shows, in the first place, only causas efficientes, causes and means (Ursachen und Mittel), by which this new birth," etc.

should have named four. But such was not his aim; he leaves it to the reader, *whom he has previously instructed* as to the truly efficient causes of salvation and the instruments which God has appointed for obtaining salvation, to separate in his mind the *causae causantes* from what should strictly be called means. *He refers the reader to former questions and answers, and demands that their contents shall not be left out of consideration at this point.* And that he cannot intend to have persevering faith in Christ regarded as a *causa causans* is evident, because he names this concept at a place where, according to the very arrangement of his question, we should expect him to name means; he puts the concept of faith last, after the Gospel. Moreover, he cites as his proof passage 2 Thess. 2, 13: "God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth," *ἐν πίστει, i. e.,* the salvation to which God has chosen is actually effected in this way that the Holy Spirit sanctifies the elect by faith in the truth. Faith is the means of salvation *ex parte hominis,* as the Gospel, the Truth, is the means *ex parte Dei.*

Moreover, in this famous Qu. 323 Dietrich speaks of "*those* causes and means." Which? Those to which he had referred in the preceding answer, viz., the causes and means "embraced" in the decree of God. Faith, too, was embraced in the elective act. God determined that His elect must be saved not without faith, but by faith, faith being the means. Now, if God elected in view of faith, faith could not be "embraced," included as an integral part, in the elective act, but faith would be outside of that act as the guiding principle of God's choice. Faith would be the outside rule enabling God to make what is called a "rational" choice.

So, this assertion of a threefold cause of election in Qu. 323 of Dietrich's Catechism is utterly baseless. This good old theologian is misrepresented by those who pretend to maintain his teaching at this late day.

Dietrich's Catechism teaches an election unto faith. If this has not already appeared from the foregoing citations, we

offer here another proof. In Qu. 325 Dietrich puts the momentous question:

> Whence is it, then, that not all and every person, for whom these means of salvation are designed, is equally chosen to eternal life? It is because God has purposed not to elect them absolutely and unconditionally, but with this *appointment* and in this order, *that they should* through the Gospel *believe* in Jesus Christ, and by true faith in Him be saved. But because the greatest number do not believe, it necessarily follows that only those who believe unto the end, and therefore but few, are chosen.

We have again taken the liberty to italicize. Dietrich does not say that the reason for the *discretio personarum* is that God knew that the elect would believe, and that the non-elect would not believe, but that God elected the elect "with this appointment, that they should believe."

One thing we shall grant our opponents with regard to Dietrich's Catechism, viz.: his phraseology is not that which Missourians during the present controversy have employed towards their opponents. But Missourians are not the first people, nor are they the only ones at this late day who have discovered that the use of scholastic terminology in dogmatics is not an unalloyed blessing. Dietrich himself is not consistent in the use of the terms causes and means. In Qu. 324 — the question following immediately after the question which is claimed to teach three causes — we find the following language:

> But are not these means of salvation appointed for all men without exception?
>
> Certainly; for, etc.

"These means" — which? Why, those mentioned in the preceding question. But that question spoke of *"causes and* means"? So it did. And now Dietrich calls the same matters "these means" which he had before called causes and means. But perhaps he has dropped the causes in Qu. 324, and by the pronoun "these" refers not to the whole of the preceding question, but to a part of it, namely, to that part which named the means. If any one so interprets the expression "these means," he grants that the preceding question has named *at*

least two means — which is what we have claimed. And since "the boundless mercy of God" and "the infinite merit of Christ" rather answer to the designation "cause" than to that of "means," the means to which Dietrich in Qu. 324 points as having been mentioned in Qu. 323 must be "the Gospel" and "persevering faith in Christ," — which is what we have claimed.

However, we doubt the correctness of this interpretation. Dietrich's answer to Qu. 324 does not agree with it. It reads:

Certainly; for 1. God sincerely desires to have mercy upon all men; and wills that all should be saved and that none should perish.

This corresponds to point 1 in Qu. 323.

2. Christ is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world; He is the Savior of all men, especially of those who believe.

This corresponds to point 2 a under Qu. 323.

3. God calls all to the benefits of Christ, with the sincere will that all should become partakers; and the Gospel is preached to every creature, to the end that all men everywhere should repent and come to the knowledge of the truth.

This corresponds to point 2 b under Qu. 323. And this is all there is contained in Answer 324. There is no equivalent for point 3 in Qu. 323. In Qu. 325 Dietrich says, that God has made "this appointment and this order, that they" (*i. e.*, "each and every person for whom these means of salvation are designed") "should through the Gospel believe in Jesus Christ and by true faith in Him be saved." Here he declares the power of the Gospel to be as universal in the intention of God as is the commission to preach the Gospel. We have seen before that Dietrich deduces faith only from the Holy Spirit working through the Gospel. He might have added a fourth feature to his 324th answer. For faith is also a means, and God desires to bestow it as sincerely as He bestowed His love, His Son, and His Word of grace. Now two of those three matters which Dietrich in Qu. 324 mentions and calls means, we should strictly name causes, namely, the two first. Hence, we hold that no argument pro or con the part which faith is

supposed to play in the elective act of God can be deduced from the use of the terms "causes" by Dietrich. Dietrich is not exact, and does not aim to be exact, in the use of these terms. This lack of exactness begets a sort of indistinctness in his statements. No doubt, Dietrich was laboring to maintain the strict teaching of the Form of Concord and at the same time to accommodate himself also to the dogmatical language of his day. This is a defect, but it is not sufficient to stamp him a heterodox teacher. For at the decisive point Dietrich is clear and plain: he has nowhere in his Catechism represented faith as a *causa causans* of election. Even this lack of exactness has not caused the Missouri Synod to dispense with his Catechism. Dietrich has satisfied the teachers of his Catechism in the Missouri Synod on what, after all, is the main issue, viz., Does man, in any wise, cooperate towards originating faith in himself? To this question he has returned a plain and unqualified *no* for his answer. He has said:

Qu. 283. Can, then, no one, in his conversion to God, do anything by his own power?

Not at all; for just on this account "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him."

Qu. 284. Why is this?

Because by the fall of our first parents all the powers of our intellect and will are so entirely corrupted, that we are not able of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves.

Qu. 285. Has man, then, since the fall, a free will before conversion?

1. In civil and external actions he has, although it is weakened in various ways, on account of

a. the corruption of nature,

b. the wiles of the devil,

c. the power of passion,

d. the errors of judgment.

2. In spiritual matters man is wholly dead and has no freedom of will, so that he cannot prepare himself for divine grace, *nor accept it when it is offered* (italics our own!), nor awaken himself to conversion and renewal, *just as a dead man cannot restore himself to life or communicate any power to himself.* (Italics our own!)

Qu. 286. Whence, then, does conversion to God and faith in Jesus Christ (note the juxtaposition!) come?

It is a gracious gift of the Holy Ghost, who works both in us by His mighty power.

In unmistakable language Dietrich passes the *subjectum conversionis,* fallen man, on from the state of spiritual death to that of spiritual life, with no probationary state intervening, and ascribes the transfer to God alone. He treats "conversion to God" and "faith in Jesus Christ" as equivalent terms.

Nor does he distinguish between two kinds of resistance to explain the origin of faith in some persons, the failure to believe in others. He knows but of one kind of resistance, and that explains unbelief.

Qu. 325. Whence is it, then, that not all and every person, for whom these means of salvation are designed, is equally chosen to eternal life?

It is because God has purposed not to elect them absolutely and unconditionally, but with this appointment and in this order, that they should through the Gospel believe in Jesus Christ, and by true faith in Him be saved. But because the greatest number do not believe, it necessarily follows that only those who believe unto the end, and therefore but few, are chosen.

Qu. 326. But why is it that not all persons are endowed with faith through the Gospel, and believe in Christ?

This is because of their own fault, inasmuch as they voluntarily despise and reject the Word preached, and thus resist the operations of the Holy Ghost.

Qu. 327. But whence does it come that the greater number is rejected and damned?

This also is due to their own fault, to their impenitence and unbelief; for he that believeth not shall be damned, and the wrath of God abideth on him.

Plainly this presentation leaves the question: *Cur alii prae aliis?* the mystery which it is. We may know why some are saved and why others are not saved. But there is no answer on the question why some are saved rather than others from the Scriptures, which teach with equal emphasis both the

universality and equality of sin and the universality and equality of grace.

Dietrich's Catechism was in use in the churches and schools of the Missouri Synod about thirty years before the Catechism now in use was adopted. During that time the schoolchildren and catechumens of the Missouri Synod were taught the doctrine of election which the Missouri Synod now holds. Dietrich's Catechism proved no bar to teaching that doctrine. The allegation made at Fort Wayne is not new. In 1881 C. S. K. wrote in *The St. Louis Theological Monthly*[3] as follows:

After the death of the blessed Prof. A. Biewend, which occurred April 10, 1858, Dr. Walther instructed the whole Concordia Gymnasium, which was then yet at St. Louis, in the catechism. The ten commandments had been catechised on by Prof. Biewend. Dr. Walther continued where the latter had left off, and, towards the end of the year, he catechised on the doctrine of election in the Third Article according to Dietrich's Catechism. The writer of this article . . . begs leave to produce, not from memory, but from his notes taken down at the time, the following sufficient evidence to show that Dr. Walther has not in the least changed his position relative to the doctrine of election, but that he is the same man in theology in regard to this point that he was over 22 years ago, at least. He, for instance, said that the answer to Qu. 321 in Dietrich stated, first, that election of grace is an *"act of God,"* then, that it is "a *voluntary* act," then, that it is *"no unconditional act;"* he said that *"not a condition* of election," but "a *description of the elect"* was given in the words: "all those who shall perseveringly believe in Christ," and that the answer finally pointed out the *"ultimate end"* of election, which is "the praise of His glorious grace." Further notes make Prof. Walther say the following: "The *Calvinists* say God elected a few, but *as He did not know how to get them to heaven, He decreed to send His Son."—"Election is the cause of the faith"* (of the elect). *"Right! God Himself gives faith."* In the catechisation on the words: "All things work together for good to them that love God" (in Rom. 8, 28—30, under Qu. 322), he said: "When an elect *sins,* that also must work for good to him. If any one is not elected, neither good nor evil will be of avail to him." *"It flows from God's*

3) Vol. I, p. 131 f.: "Dr. Walther once and now."

mercy (Erbarmung) *alone that He elected some.* God is *incomprehensible,* not only in His nature and works, but also *in His decrees.* When the Calvinists cannot comprehend what God does, they cast a goodly portion away, and God is made to be a hideous God, and a liar and cruel tyrant. Many errors are connected with the *absolute decree,* viz.: that Christ did not die for all men, that grace is *irresistible,* etc." Speaking of the elect who continue in faith unto their end, Prof. Walther said: "God did *not* elect a person (einen) *on account of faith,* but *a person always continues in faith because God elected him.*" In regard to answer to Qu. 323, Dr. Walther said: "The two first" ("the boundless *mercy of God* and the infinite *merit of Christ*") "are *the only causes,* but the third" ("persevering faith in Christ") "and what belongs to the same, are *the means.*"

The history of the new catechism of the Missouri Synod begins about a year after the publication of the first edition of Dietrich's Catechism. Up to 1857 various catechisms and explanations of catechisms were in use. In that year the ministerium of St. Louis, which three years before had been appointed a committee for that purpose, reported to the general body then convened at Fort Wayne, Ind., that it had completed the draft for the proposed edition of Dietrich. Another committee was appointed to examine the manuscript, and upon its favorable report the manuscript was ordered printed. On February 28, 1858, Dr. Walther in *Der Lutheraner* announced that the catechism had left the press of Wiebusch and Son, and in his review of the same said:

Unless all teachers in explaining the catechism follow a common model, the consequence must necessarily be not only that a great divergence will arise in the presentation of the pure doctrine on the part of the teachers within the same church-body, but also that the individual teacher will not adhere to a uniform presentation, but, in proportion as he is faithful and diligent, will adopt every year a method as regards terminology, quantity of material, and mode of inculcating, which in his opinion is an improvement upon that of the preceding year. Such topics as Law and Gospel, faith and repentance, justification and sanctification, the sacrament, etc., will be explained now in this, now in that manner. Now, although none of the explanations offered need be false, still the damage resulting from a constant change in the mode of teaching is very great. Neces-

sarily, such a constant change not only creates confusion in the children's minds, but also reacts in a harmful manner upon the teacher himself: it engenders in him a kind of uncertainty greatly detrimental to him in his office and causes him to vacillate in points of doctrine. This cannot but prove a great hindrance to the building up of the Church in the true unity of the Spirit, and conflicts with the apostle's admonition: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you: but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." 1 Cor. 1, 10.

These remarks afford a glimpse of the state of affairs in the Synod prior to the coming of Dietrich's Catechism, and they indicate with what expectations the catechism was issued. Hopes of another kind accompanied its publication. The reviewer continues:

With no intention of denying the great value and excellence of any other orthodox catechism our synod has chosen just this older catechism of Dietrich, because in preference to all other catechisms which were known to synod this one seemed best suited to our times and our peculiar conditions in this country. Our congregation members and our children are not dwelling in this country in quiet possession of the pure doctrine. Surrounded by sects of the most varied description, they notice not only that the good old pure and sound doctrine and the time-honored customs of their church are assailed and rendered suspected, but also that the false teachings and consequent practices of sects, partly of the rationalistic, partly of the enthusiastic stripe, are lauded with enticing glamor, and their adoption advocated to them. Manifestly, then, we need a text-book for our schools and homes which not only presents with particular care and depth the pure doctrine of our church, its customs and entire practice, thoroughly proves their soundness from God's Word and strikingly disproves the objections raised against them, but which also exhibits in a clear and lucid manner the groundless and dangerous character of the errors, the sentimentalism and the mispractices in vogue in our country. We need a catechism which possesses, besides the common merits of orthodox catechisms, this additional merit, that it offers to our congregation members the necessary weapons for successfully defending the truth which by the grace of God has been bestowed on them, and for vanquishing error in whatever garb it meets them, hence, a catechism which so furnishes them that in the

midst of the whirlpool of sects in this country they are able to comply with the admonition of the holy apostle: "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." 1 Pet. 3, 15.

Such were the ideals which the makers of Missouri's first synodical catechism proposed for their constituents. Were these ideals ever attained? *Nine months after* the above notice, an anonymous contributor is permitted to state a grievance regarding the use of Dietrich's Catechism in *Der Lutheraner*.[4] He writes:

My dear friend,—

I have to ask your advice this time in a very peculiar matter. I know you will gladly give it. The time to begin the instruction of catechumens has arrived again, and, as on every previous occasion, I am again perplexed, yea, more so this time than ever before. Formerly my perplexity arose from not knowing which book to follow in my instruction and to place into the children's hands. Nearly every year I adopted a different course, different explanations, and gave a different amount of time to various doctrines. Not that I was lazy or negligent. I wrote out my instruction in full every time, but I was never satisfied at the new start with what I had written and presented in the preceding year. Now this difficulty has been removed. Synod has republished Conrad Dietrich's Small Catechism. We have the book; we have introduced it; my children have it. Now guess what difficulty perplexes me at present. Do not laugh at me. What to do with the book I know as little as my pupils. Are the children to learn only the proof-passages? What purpose, then, do the questions and answers serve? If they are to learn also the questions and answers, how is that possible? Hardly one or two will accomplish this. Am I to have them merely read the questions and answers? Of what use will that be? However, if I am to explain the questions, I hardly know what to explain; everything is so clear and plain. Then again, many things seem to me to be wanting which I had found in Spener, or in the Dresden Catechism, or in Huth, etc. There are no terse applications such as one finds scattered in those catechisms. In some places the matter is brief and condensed, in others it is too much expanded. And how lumbering are some of the answers! In fine, I am disgusted. And when

4) Vol. 15, p. 57 f. Nov. 30, 1858.

my disgust and perplexity occasionally is great, I am angry at heart because synod did not publish a different catechism, one elaborated with an eye for the special needs of our time, etc.

This brother was advised to consider that every undertaking presents peculiar difficulties at the beginning, but persistent effort and faithful perseverance would overcome those difficulties. Moreover, it would not be easy, the reply states, to find a person capable and of sufficient authority in the Church at that day to elaborate an entirely new catechism adapted to American conditions. — The difficulties, however, seem to have continued. In the issue for September 15, 1864, a writer proposes "Another method for treating Conrad Dietrich's Catechism."[5] He says, amongst other things:

It is impossible, in view of the present state of our schools, to have the children memorize the long questions, and yet the children must be able to give an account of them. What remedy can be proposed? A simple one, viz., by means of the questions themselves. A close examination of the questions reveals the fact that most questions contain, 1. a generalizing, 2. a particularizing answer. In other words, from a long answer containing general and particular matter, a brief and yet complete answer may be culled. This brief answer the children are directed to commit to memory; the remainder they are merely asked to remember. Thus the children are encouraged to take up the long questions, especially when the latter are divided, — as sometimes must be done, — into main and secondary questions, and in this wise the children, without becoming aware of it, are taught the entire contents of the question.

The process is as follows: You take the catechism in your left and a pencil in your right hand, and examine, *e. g.*, Qu. 84 in the Sixth Commandment: What is meant by committing adultery? In the answer you underscore and have the children underscore these words: "to yield to the lust of the flesh." These words, you tell the children, must be memorized; the remainder, "outside of lawful wedlock," and the four special points you tell them to remember. In like manner, in Qu. 86, etc.

A person wielding a good pencil might in this manner digest (durcharbeiten) the entire catechism and communicate results at

5) Vol. 21, p. 13.

conferences or synodical meetings. This would prove useful in several ways: 1. The great number of self-appointed masters with their peculiar modes and methods would perish and would be strictly bound to the catechism; 2. the woes and agonies of the children would be at an end; 3. the contents of the catechism would be brought much nearer to their grasp; and lastly, 4. children in New York and San Francisco, in New Orleans and at Lake Superior would return the identical answer to a given question.

These suggestions show that the expectations with which Dietrich's Catechism had been issued were being realized very slowly, yea, that not a few were despairing of realizing them. The demands for a plainer, simpler, briefer catechism at length became so insistent that "An Abridged Edition of the Catechism of Dr. Johann Conrad Dietrich" was published by the Publication Board of Synod. The six hundred and eleven questions of Dietrich had been reduced to one hundred and fifty-four in the Abridgment. Before us lies a copy of the *tenth* edition of this Abridgment, of the year 1883. Dietrich's elaborate presentation of the doctrine of election has been entirely dropped in the Abridgment. And this had been done before there was so much as a thought of the coming predestinarian controversy. What changes were made were meant to answer practical necessities. To borrow a secular phrase, the Missouri Synod was confronted with a condition, not a theory, and strove to supply an existing want.

It was in this same spirit that ultimately the idea of publishing the Catechism now largely in use in the Missouri Synod was weighed and executed. The facts are of too recent date to be here reiterated. Synod was in no haste to rid itself of its Dietrich for doctrinal reasons. The proposition to publish a new catechism was not submitted to Synod until 1890. The Committee reporting on the matter states:[6]

We are prompted by the following reasons to submit this petition to Synod: In the first place, we cannot but yield to the conviction that Conrad Dietrich's explanation of the catechism now in general use among us was intended to offer to *confirmed* young

6) Records of Sixth Delegate Convention 1890, p. 81 f.

Christians further instruction and a more thorough inculcation of the doctrines of the Catechism, but that for schoolchildren it contains too much matter. Moreover, the doctrines are treated by Dietrich in too rigid connection, so that it is very difficult for a teacher to select just so much doctrinal matter as he regards appropriate for his pupils, by using only a part of the questions and passing over the rest. Accordingly, we believe that it is meeting a want of our beloved youth to offer them a briefer explanation of the Catechism, in which they find just the right quantity of spiritual food.

In the second place, it is our opinion that in many places Dietrich's Catechism employs a language which is adapted to the grasp of college students of the middle grades, — for whom he had primarily written the catechism, — but that his language is difficult to understand for many children in our parochial schools, especially in the lower grades. Accordingly, we believe it to be in the interest of our schoolchildren that an easier exposition of the catechism be given them, which presents the pure doctrine of the catechism in plain and simple words.

In the third place, we are convinced that it will conduce to the spiritual welfare of our children to have as the basis of religious instruction an explanation of the catechism which, from beginning to end, closely follows Luther's Small Catechism and affords a clear knowledge and understanding of the text of the catechism in all its parts. If good catechetical literature, especially Luther's writings and the confessional writings of our church, are used in the elaboration of the desired handbook, a churchly and ecumenical character can be preserved, in our judgment, also to this new work.

In conclusion, we wish to remark, that we do not wish to be understood as advising a rescission of the former resolution of Synod by which Conrad Dietrich's book was recommended for use to our congregations; for, no doubt, Dietrich will be used with blessed results also in the future, especially in the instruction of more advanced children," etc.

It was not until 1896 that the new catechism received Synod's sanction,[7] Synod at the same time expressing the hope that this new catechism would meet a want long felt, and would prove a great blessing to the congregations. Every teacher would now be able, by the aid of this catechism, to teach all the saving doctrines easily in the space of a year, and the pastor

7) Records of Eighth Delegate Convention, 1896, p. 113.

would no longer be forced, in teaching his catechumens, to lay aside so many questions. However, this is not meant as an order that every congregation must adopt this catechism; this may or may not be done. Synod is satisfied with having declared that in this little book the pure and unadulterated doctrine of the divine Word is presented in a form which, according to her conviction, will prove very salutary.

Ten years have elapsed since the introduction of Schwan's Catechism, as the catechism of Synod is popularly called. Many, probably the greater portion of our congregations, have adopted it and are using it exclusively. However, Dietrich is used still, sometimes by the side of Schwan, sometimes exclusively. At Concordia Seminary this city Dietrich's was the student's text-book in English Catechetics as late as 1905. For practical reasons Schwan was used for the first time in the fall of that year. We were curious to know just to what extent Dietrich's Catechism was still in demand and addressed an inquiry to that effect to the Agent of our Publication Concern, who replies under date of June 5th, as follows:

Schwan's Catechism was published in April, 1896. Since that time we have sold, besides the latter, 71,491 copies of Dietrich's Catechism. Dietrich is still printed by us just as in previous years, and so far no order for it has remained unfilled.

On the average, then, there are still used annually in the Missouri Synod at the present time 7100 copies of Dietrich's Catechism. We are confident that there is not a synod in America, nor anywhere else in the world, the Ohio and Iowa Synods, and the General Council not excepted, which makes as extensive an use of Dietrich's Catechism as does the Missouri Synod.

Therefore we hold that whoever says that the Missouri Synod on doctrinal grounds dispensed with the use of Dietrich's Catechism does not know what he is saying, or does not care, or both.

WASHINGTON THE CHRISTIAN.[1]

When two months old, George Washington was baptized; likely by the Rev. Lawrence De Butts, the pastor of Washington parish. He was carefully brought up in the Christian religion by his mother, and many biographers give her much credit for what he became. Paulding tells us this Christian matron read daily to her household the "Contemplations" of Sir Matthew Hale, the illustrious and Christian judge of the corrupt court of Charles II, which contain a long and minute series of Meditations on the Lord's Prayer. No doubt this family worship went far to form the character of young George.

As far back as 1624 it is recorded that the young were catechised from Lent to far into the summer. Being the son of a vestryman, George no doubt was taught the Christian religion by the pastor of Truro parish, the Rev. Charles Green.

When Washington was a lad of thirteen, he wrote in a blank book a list of maxims for the guidance of young people. Here are some of them: "Speak not injurious words, neither in jest nor in earnest. Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any. Be not apt to relate news if you know not the truth thereof. Be careful to keep your promise. Speak not evil of the absent. When you speak of God, or His attributes, let it be seriously in reverence. Honor and obey your natural parents, although they be poor. Let your recre-

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1) *Authorities:* — Senator Lodge's *George Washington;* President Woodrow Wilson's *Washington;* Ford's *The True George Washington;* Lossing's *Washington;* Everett's *Washington;* Weems's *Washington;* Saunder's *Washington Centennial Souvenir;* Sparks's *Washington's Writings,* vol. 12; Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. 1; Vernon's *George Washington, Soldier and Christian;* Harbaugh's *Religious Character of Washington;* M'Guire's *Religious Opinions and Character of Washington;* Potter's *Washington in His Library and Life; The Century,* April, 1889; *The Treasury,* February, 1901; *Washington as Churchman and Communicant,* Address to the Drawing Room Club at the Waldorf-Astoria by Dr. Eliphalet Nott Potter, formerly President of Hobart College.

ations be manful, not sinful. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience." When fourteen, he was bent on going to sea, and his trunk was sent aboard the vessel. Returning to bid his mother good-by, he found her in tears. He promptly gave up his ambition and remained at home. His mother said, "God will not let your filial affection go unrewarded."

He learned surveying, and in 1748, when he was sixteen years old, he surveyed the vast estate of unexplored lands at the base of the Alleghenies belonging to Lord Fairfax, whose frequent companion he was. So well did he do this work among the hostile Indians, that Lord Fairfax procured him the office of public surveyor, which he held for three years.

George Washington was sullied with none of the vices then so common with the sons of planters; his morals were irreproachable; his habits, temperate; his sentiments, lofty; his health, perfect; his manners, easy and dignified; he loved society, but was no brilliant talker; he was a fine athlete; he loved fox-hunting; he was the best horseman in America; the British officers said they had never seen so heroic a figure as Washington on horseback.

During the Indian and French War Fairfax wrote to Washington at the Great Meadows, "I will not doubt your having public prayers in camp, especially when the Indian families are your guests, that they, seeing your plain manner of worship, may have their curiosity excited to be informed why we do not use the ceremonies of the French, which being well explained to their understanding, will more and more dispose them to receive our baptism, and unite in strict bonds of cordial friendship." This letter speaks volumes for the Christian character of young George Washington — it takes for granted that he prays publicly and is a missionary! "During the French War, when the government of Virginia neglected to provide chaplains for the army, he remonstrated against such impropriety, and urged his request till they were appointed." To Governor Dinwiddie he wrote, "Common decency, sir, in a

camp, calls for the services of a divine, which ought not to be dispensed with, although the world should be so uncharitable as to think us void of religion and incapable of good instructions." Colonel B. Temple says, "frequently, on the Sabbath, he has known Colonel Washington to perform divine service with his regiment, reading the Scriptures and praying with them." The chaplain being wounded, Washington himself read the burial service by the light of a torch at the burial of General Braddock. At this period Washington writes, "I have, both by threats and persuasive means, endeavored to discountenance gaming, drinking, swearing, and irregularities of every other kind."

In the midst of his many pressing duties, Washington often visited his mother at Fredericksburg and provided for her wants. In his letters he always addressed her as "Honored Madam," and signed himself, "Your most dutiful son." He attended his half-brother Lawrence to the end, in 1752, when Lawrence's own brother Augustine would but seldom visit the consumptive. At the death of the daughter of his half-brother Lawrence, he fell heir to the Mount Vernon estate. In 1759 he married his "dear Patsey," the widow Martha Custis, who owned vast tracts of land in Kent County and £45,000, and he was perhaps the wealthiest man in all the colonies.

He was elected vestryman in the two parishes of Truro and Fairfax, and was quite active in church affairs. When the merits of two sites for the Pohick church were warmly discussed, Washington himself went to the trouble of measuring the distance from each proposed site to the house of each parishioner to find out which was the nearer place for all, and then laid the matter before the vestry; needless to say that on the basis of these statistics the spot favored by Washington was chosen. He drew the plans for the new church in Truro and subscribed to the building. Sparks quotes President Madison to the effect that "there was a tradition, that when he (Washington) belonged to the vestry of a church in his neigh-

borhood, and several little difficulties grew out of some division of the society, he sometimes spoke with great force, animation, and eloquence on the topics that came before them." In the elections of 1765 Washington stood third in popularity in the Truro church, and fifth in that of Fairfax.

The Rev. Lee Massey, rector at Pohick (Truro) church before the Revolution, said, "I never knew so constant an attendant in church as Washington. And his behavior in the house of God was ever so deeply reverential that it produced the happiest effect on my congregation, and greatly assisted me in my pulpit labors. No company ever withheld him from church. I have often been at Mount Vernon on Sabbath morning, when his breakfast table was filled with guests; but to him they furnished no pretext for neglecting his God and losing the satisfaction of setting a good example. For instead of staying at home, out of false complaisance to them, he used constantly to invite them to accompany him." And this, although he had seven miles to Pohick church and ten miles to Fairfax. Once when Mrs. Washington was not well and confined to the house, he would have attended church nevertheless, had not something else kept him home, as we may see from his diary of January 6, 1760. On Sunday evenings he read to his wife a sermon or a portion of the Bible. On May 4 he visited his negroes ill of the smallpox. In 1773, he bought a pew in Christ Church in Alexandria, paying £36.10, the largest price paid by any parishioner. To this church he was quite liberal, subscribing several times towards repairs, etc.

Washington asked a blessing at his own table, in a standing posture; if a clergyman was present, he was asked to pray. Once he forgot to ask a visiting clergyman to say grace, and when reminded of it afterwards he said, "Well, at any rate he will know that we are not graceless in this house."

Parson Green, first rector of Truro parish, had his corner at the fireside of Mount Vernon, and the Rev. Lee Massey, of Pohick church, was a friend of the family, as was the Rev.

Charles Kemp, and the Rev. Byran, Lord Fairfax; and to Parson Weems Mrs. Washington always gave a double spoonful of egg sauce when it fell to her to carve the chickens.

Washington's nephew, Mr. Lewis, says, that he had "accidentally witnessed his private devotions in his study both morning and evening; that on these occasions he had seen him in a kneeling posture, with a Bible open before him, and that he believed such to have been his daily practice."

When the port of Boston was closed by act of Parliament, the Virginia House of Congress set apart June 1 as a day of fasting and prayer, and the entry in Washington's journal reads, "June 1 went to church, and fasted all day." When he went to Philadelphia as a member of the first Congress, he went to church every Sunday, as we may see from his journal. At this time a stranger asked how he might know Washington; Secretary Thompson replied, "You can easily distinguish him when Congress goes to prayer: Washington is the gentleman who kneels down." When Bishop White made the first prayer in Congress, Washington was the only one observed to kneel.

One of his orders as General was, "The General requires and expects of all officers and soldiers, not engaged in actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessings of heaven upon the means used for our safety and defense." On July 9, 1775, he says, "The General hopes and trusts, that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier." On February 26, 1776, he says, "All officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, are positively forbid playing at cards and other games of chance. At this time of public distress, men may find enough to do in the service of their God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality." On August 3, 1776, he says, "That the troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship . . . the General in future excuses them from fatigue duty on Sunday." On May 29, 1777, he says, "Let vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much

as possible in your brigade; and, as a chaplain is allowed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbidden." On December 17, 1777, "the General directs . . . that the chaplains perform divine service . . . and earnestly exhorts all officers and soldiers, whose absence is not indispensably necessary, to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day."

During the war Washington received the Lord's Supper from the Rev. Dr. Jones at Morristown, N. J. Isaac Potts saw the General on his knees in prayer in a thicket in Valley Forge. A woman testified that it was his habit to retire from the camp for prayer. The Rev. J. Eastburn saw him in prayer near the battle of Princeton. At still another time he was overheard at his private prayer, ending with the words, "Grant the petition of Thy servant for the sake of Him whom Thou hast called Thy Beloved Son." General Cobb says, "Throughout the war it was understood in his military family, that he gave a part of each day to private prayer and devotion." General Sullivan makes the same remark. Says an officer, Washington's nephew, "I took the papers from the messenger and directed my steps towards the General's room. I heard a voice within and paused. Listening for a moment, when all was silent around, I found that he was earnestly engaged in prayer. I knew this to be his habit, and therefore retired." At Yorktown he said to his soldiers, "My brave fellows, let no sensation of satisfaction for the triumphs you have gained induce you to insult your fallen enemy; let no shouting, no clamorous huzzaing increase their mortification. It is sufficient satisfaction for us that we witness their humiliation. Posterity will huzza for us!"

In his circular letter to the Governors of the States, on disbanding the army, he praises, "above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation," and in conclusion asks all to follow "the Divine Author of our blessed religion, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation."

In his Farewell Address he says, "Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligations desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." When he bade farewell to the army, he offered "his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of Armies." When he bade farewell to Congress, he commended "the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping."

When in New York City, President Washington worshiped regularly at St. Paul's Church. In Philadelphia, at Christ Church, the President was "a constant attendant in the morning." Here, when he had received a just reproof from the pulpit, he did not get angry, but honored the preacher for his integrity and candor and would never again give cause for the repetition of the reproof. When, in 1793, the yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia, he moved to Germantown and for six weeks boarded with the Rev. Dr. F. L. Herman, and attended the English services with his family; he even attended the German services, to set a good example.

While President, Washington usually retired to his study at nine o'clock every night for communion with his Bible and his God; no exception was made when he had company, receptions, and state dinners. On Sundays he would have no visitors; Trumbull, the Speaker of the House, an earnest Christian, was the only exception. At Philadelphia a youthful member of the President's household, whose room was near the study, on one occasion looked in and saw Washington upon his knees at a small table with a candle and an open Bible thereon. Traveling through Connecticut in the fall of 1789, Washington on Sunday "attended the morning and evening services and heard very lame discourses from a Mr. Pond."

With all his self-respect and natural dignity, Washington was modest and unassuming. When elected commander-in-chief, he frankly doubted his ability; yet without reluctance he accepted the trust, pledging to exert all his powers, under Providence, to lead the country through its trials. He indignantly rejected the overtures made privately to consent to be king. He was fearless of praise or blame, though not insensible to either. He was reserved in manner, yet capable of the warmest affection. He had a very fiery temper, but he usually kept it well under control. In 1754, when he was twenty-two years old, in an election contest in the market-place of Alexandria, Colonel Wm. Payne, little as he was, with a stick knocked down Colonel Washington, big as he was. Washington was in the wrong, with his fiery temper he had used insulting language. He was Christian enough to apologize the next day to his doughty little assailant; later he introduced him to his wife, mentioning the fact of their encounter, and always remained a warm friend.

He once said, "I can truly say, I had rather be at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the seat of government by the officers of state and the representatives of every power of Europe." He said that more permanent and genuine happiness is to be found in connubial life than in the giddy rounds of pleasure or the scenes of successful ambition.

Washington would take no salary for his services to his country, but he consented to have his expenses refunded.

Washington's charities were not very conspicuous, but very judicious. Careful in the smallest expenses, he never turned a deaf ear to the many poor of the county. For their use he kept a granary full of corn, and a boat with a net in one of his best fisheries. The baker in the neighborhood of one of the "Virginia Springs" was ordered to supply a daily dole of bread to a number of very poor mountaineers, but not to tell the giver's name. Quite by chance it was found out to be Washington, as Governor Johnson of Maryland tells us. When

President at Philadelphia, "he incidentally heard some one speak of a very destitute family in the city. He asked for the number and street in which they lived. Soon after he visited this family in their lowly abode, spoke words of gentle sympathy to them, and, when leaving, pressed ten dollars into the trembling hand of the grateful widow." While very careful not to help the lazy, he was always ready to help the deserving. Even during the troublous times of the war he did not forget to do good. He wrote Lund Washington, the manager of his estate, to give about £40 to £50 a year to the worthy poor and seed corn to such as were in need of it. He founded the School for Boys in Alexandria, and for many years gave $250.00 annually for the schooling of the poor, and left $4000 to the institution, and $10,000 to Liberty Hall Academy in Rockbridge County, and $20,000 to a National University at Washington. All his slaves were to be freed at the death of his wife, who had the whole property for life, about $530,000.

Jared Sparks says that in the twelve volumes of Washington's writings, "whenever he approaches it (the Christian revelation), and indeed when he alludes in any manner to religion, it is done with seriousness and reverence." Ford says, "In all public ways Washington threw his influence in favor of religion." President Madison says, "He was constant in his observance of worship." Chief Justice John Marshall says, "He was a sincere believer in the Christian faith, and a truly devout man."

When the doctors in New York told him that he was sick unto death, he said, "I am not afraid to die, and can hear the worst. Whether to-night or twenty years hence makes no difference. I know that I am in the hands of a good Providence."

His last sickness was less than twenty-four hours. To his doctor he said, "I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed from my first attack that I should not survive it." He also said, "I should have been glad, had it pleased God, to die

a little easier, but I doubt not it is for my good." The Bible was on his dying bed; his beloved wife was kneeling by his side; he said, "I am just going. 'Tis well. Father of mercies, take me to Thyself!" — His epitaph is, "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

At his death Congress resolved, 1. to erect a grand marble monument, and, 2. to hold a funeral service in the German Lutheran church.

Milwaukee, Wis. W. DALLMANN.

THE PROOF TEXTS OF THE CATECHISM WITH A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY.

Deut. 6, 4: *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.*

Various renderings have been proposed for this passage, *e. g.:* "Jehovah is our God, Jehovah is one." (See Clarke, *The Holy Bible,* ad loc.) Inasmuch as our Lord cites this passage Mark 12, 29 in exactly the same sense and construction as the Authorized Version has given to our text, it is futile to attempt a different rendering. This text declares the *unity of God.* God is *achad,* one, *i. e.,* "beside me there is no God," Is. 44, 6; "there is none else," Is. 45, 5. 6. 14. 18. 22; "there is none like me," Is. 46, 9. Paganism acknowledges many gods; Israel's God is one Jehovah. And this very name He will not share with another, Is. 42, 8 ("that is *my* name"). God's name stands for the divine essence. God cannot be named by comparison with other similar beings. His name is as much His own exclusively as His attributes, properties, etc. God is one and Jehovah is His name, therefore, means: There is one eternal, one almighty, one omniscient, etc., Being or Essence. We cannot imagine two eternal, almighty, omnipresent Beings without imagining, at the same time, a constant conflict between the two. Or if they exist in harmony with one another, we imagine a power still higher than the two,

which controls them, and thereby destroys their omnipotence. —A divine name, indeed, has been conferred on beings other than God. Moses is made *elohim,* a god, to his brother Aaron, Ex. 4, 16, to Pharaoh, Ex. 7, 1. The civil authorities, Ex. 12, 12; 22, 28; 23, 32; judges, Ex. 22, 8 (in Hebrew text v. 7: "the master of the house shall be brought unto elohim"); Ps. 82, 1. 6; John 10, 34; people of influence, Ps. 89, 7, and the holy angels, Ps. 97, 7 (comp. Hebr. 1, 6), are given the divine names *elohim* and *el.* Evidently this is done by a figure of speech. Scripture recognizes the fact that divine titles may be applied when the divine nature is wanting, Gal. 4, 8. Accordingly, when God claims the divine name for Himself alone, the term "name" is used as the exponent of the divine essence. He alone is all-wise, almighty, good, etc. Absolute goodness can be predicated of one Being only, that is God, Matt. 19, 17; Mark 10, 18; Luke 18, 19. Luther's rendering in these three passages, "der einige Gott," is preferable to the literal rendering of the Authorized Version, because it expresses the mind of Christ more strikingly. Likewise in its religious relations mankind is restricted to one divine Being only; there is "one Lawgiver," James 4, 12; belief in the existence of one God is approved, James 2, 19. Christ mediated between mankind and one God, Gal. 3, 20. One God justifies Jew and Gentile, Rom. 3, 30. And so Paul teaches Christians: "There is none other God but one (*εἰ μὴ εἷς*). For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is but one God" (*εἷς θεός*), 1 Cor. 8, 4—6.

For his own sake, not for use in the class-room, the catechist may note furthermore, that this text teaches also the *plurality of persons* in the One Godhead. "The Lord *Eloheinu* is one Lord." *Eloheinu* is the plural. In the same breath God declares Himself to be several and one.

"On this verse the Jews lay great stress; it is one of the four passages which they write on their phylacteries, and they write the last letter in the first and last words very large, for

the purpose of exciting attention to the weighty truth it contains. It is perhaps in reference to this custom of the Jews that our blessed Lord alludes, Matt. 22, 38; Mark 12, 29. 30, where He says, *This is the first and great commandment.* . . . When this passage occurs in the Sabbath readings in the synagogue, the whole congregation repeat the last word *achad* (one) for several minutes together with the loudest vociferations: this, I suppose, they do to vent a little of their spleen against the Christians, for they suppose the latter hold three Gods, because of their doctrine of the Trinity. . . . Were the Christians, when reading this verse, to vociferate *Eloheinu* for several minutes as the Jews do *achad,* it would apply more forcibly in the way of conviction to the Jews of the *plurality* of the persons in the Godhead, than the word *achad,* of *one,* against any pretended false tenet of Christianity, as every Christian receives the doctrine of the *unity* of God in the most conscientious manner." (Clarke, ibid.)

Matt. 28, 19: *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

Three appellatives are here introduced, but these three are *one* name (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, not τὰ ὀνόματα). In a different view Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three names. One person of the Godhead calls the other by the name here given, Ps. 2, 7; John 17, 1; Luke 23, 46; John 15, 26. But the three names here given are backed by one authority, one almighty power, one grace and love, all of which virtues are required for the institution of a sacrament and its maintenance and abiding obligation upon men. (NB. This is not the place to show that εἰς τὸ ὄνομα means *into* the name; that is a matter that should be reserved when this text occurs again as the baptismal command; see Qu. 277.) This text, then, teaches that there are *three* persons in the Godhead, not more nor less, and that these three share the name, dignity, power, etc., of God equally. Hence, there is a Trinity in Unity. God is three in one, triune.

"Baptism is not made in the name of a quality or attribute of the Divine nature. The orthodox, as they are termed, have generally considered this text as a decisive proof of the doctrine of the holy Trinity: and what else can they draw from it? Is it possible for words to convey a plainer sense than these do? And do they not direct every reader to consider the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit as three distinct persons? 'But this I can never believe.' I cannot help that—you shall not be persecuted by me for differing from my opinion. I cannot go over to *you;* I must abide by what I believe to be the meaning of the Scriptures." (Clarke ad loc.)

2 Cor. 13, 14: *The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.*

Numb. 6, 24—26: *The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.*

The preceding passage showed that there are in the Godhead three persons united in One Being. These two passages name and refer to the same persons, but show that they are distinct from each other. This was indicated also in the passage from Matthew by the definite article which is affixed to each person there named. The article expresses individuality, marks the person as distinct. But in these two passages the distinction is made stronger, because each person is represented as holding to us a peculiar relation. We are taught to view God the Father as the One who loves us. He so loved us that He sent His Son to redeem us, John 3, 16. He blesses us and keeps us. We are taught to view Christ as the God who is gracious to sinners. In Him the grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, Tit. 2, 11. He makes His face shine upon us; He does not look at us with a sour, surly, wry face, but with a face beaming with tender affection, radiant with smiles, as a father looks upon his child. And we are taught

to view the Holy Ghost as the God who brings us into communion with the Father and the Son by giving us peace with God. Thus these passages express to the mind what was exhibited to the senses at the Lord's baptism in Jordan, Matt. 3, 16. 17.

The three persons of the Trinity are really persons, not attributes, energies, modes of manifestation, etc., of the One Supreme Being. Each person not only exists together with, but also distinct from, the other. The revelation which John witnessed at the baptism of Jesus "forcibly marks divine personality." (Clarke ad Matt. 3, 16. 17.) As the Son was incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth, so the Spirit became visible also in a bodily shape, Luke 3, 22, like a dove, while the Father is distinct from both by the voice from heaven. Neither person in that moment was engaged in the same act as the other. Though by the unity of essence each cooperated, unseen by man's eyes, in the action of the other, yet each was engaged in a distinct act, as each also exhibited Himself in a different place from the other.

In conclusion, we note that the doctrine that there are three distinct Persons in one divine essence, is very old. We derive arguments for it from *both* Testaments. Adam, Moses, David, Isaiah, knew the true God to be triune, as well as did Peter, Paul, Luther, and any Christian child in our day. The Scriptures of the New Testament shed greater light on this truth, as they do on other truths, but the doctrine of the Trinity is recorded with sufficient distinctness on the very first page of the Bible. "God created," "the Spirit moved upon the face of the waters," "God said" (Gen. 1, 1—3), *i. e.*, God spoke into being through His Word, who was with Him in the beginning and was God (John 1, 1—3) — thus God, from the beginning, has declared Himself to be One and Three. When Aaron and his successors were commanded to bless the children of Israel, a stated form for doing this was given them. Thrice they had to invoke the name of God in their blessing, and God Himself calls this act "putting His name upon the children of Israel,"

Numb. 6, 27. This act of blessing the people was considered an important priestly function as it is mentioned on a line with other functions, Lev. 9, 22; 1 Chron. 23, 13. Isaiah was made to hear the seraphims sing their "Thrice Holy." Thus God was at pains to have His people constantly put in mind that the God who is truly One is this God who is Three in One.

Ps. 2, 7: *Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee.*

We had ascertained that the three persons of the Godhead are distinct each from the other. The distinctness of each is declared not only to us, but also within the circle of the Holy Trinity itself. It flows from certain acts which cause us to predicate something of one person that we cannot predicate of the other. Each person has a personal attribute which never passes over to either of the other persons, and thus fixes its distinctness forever. In Ps. 2, 7 we behold this difference in full operation as between the Father and the Son. The brief statement is in the form of an address: there is a party speaking and a party spoken to. I and Thou, my and Thee, as every child knows, refer to the first and second person. The relation of speaker and addressee is accidental. The speaker on one occasion may be the addressee on another. Thus we find the addressee in this text the speaker in John 17. However, the subject of the brief discourse between speaker and addressee in the text before us never changes hands, so to speak, between them. The speaker here states with regard to Himself: "I have begotten Thee," and with regard to the party spoken to: "Thou art my Son." He claims for Himself fatherhood, for the party spoken to sónship. This relation is never inverted between the first and second persons of the Godhead. True, Christ is also called Father, Is. 9, 6. A person may hold to one the relation of son, while to another he holds the relation of father. Christ is "the everlasting Father," or the eternity-Father, from whom eternity takes its origin (if we can speak of an origin of eternity!). He is the father of the raindrop, Job 38, 28, the "Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turn-

ing," James 1, 17. He has created us and acts as a father to us. But He is not the father of the Father. This statement: "To-day I have begotten Thee," cannot be made by any other than the first person of the Trinity. And this statement: "Thou art my Son," based on the ground here stated, cannot refer to any other than the second person of the Trinity. Angels are called "the sons of God," Job 1, 6; 2, 1; 38, 7; also all men, Mal. 2, 10, especially those who walk in His ways, Gen. 6, 2. 4. But Christ alone is the Son of God, because "He hath begotten Him;" He is "the only Begotten of the Father," John 1, 14. 18; 3, 16. 18; 1 John 4, 9. In an inscrutable and ineffable manner God has communicated His essence to His Son, who thus is "the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person," Hebr. 1, 3. He is "the Firstbegotten," Hebr. 1, 6, "the image of the invisible God, the Firstborn of every creature," Col. 1, 15. Luther rightly renders the genitive *πάσης κτίσεως* by "vor" (*prae,* not *ante*) "allen Creaturen." The Son's origin not only antecedes by the difference of eternity, but also excels by the difference of divine majesty that of every creature. He has taken His being directly from God and shares all God's attributes, being "one with the Father," John 10, 30. He addresses the first person of the Godhead as His Father, and the Father proclaims Him as His beloved Son. This relation constitutes the personal attribute of the Father and Son.

John 15, 26: *When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of me.*

Gal. 4, 6: *Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.*

These passages state the personal attribute of the Holy Spirit. Christ speaks of Him as "another," John 14, 16, distinct from Himself and from the Father. He goes out from the Father (*ἐκπορεύεται*). Christ also is gone out from the Father (*ἐξέρχεται*), John 8, 42; 16, 27 ff.; 17, 8. The choice

of these two verbs, the former of which is always applied to the procession of the Spirit, while the latter is used to describe the advent of Christ into the world, shows that each is a different action. Virtually Christ, in John 15, 26, predicates of the Spirit both *ἐξέρχεσθαι* and *ἐκπορεύεσθαι*, the former as an action to be expected by the disciples, the latter as an action which is already going on, the former as an official act of the Spirit, the latter as an action by which the Spirit is constituted in His essence and being. He is "the Spirit of God," *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ* (1 Cor. 2, 11), *i. e.*, as the next verse declares, "the Spirit which is of God," *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*. The mode of this procession passes our comprehension. The allusion to breath issuing from the mouth (Ps. 33, 6; John 20, 22), to the wind (John 3, 8), is helpful, but inadequate to express this act.

The procession is not from the Father alone, but also from the Son, but this latter fact is not as explicitly stated as the former. Still the genitive in Gal. 4, 6, whether it is understood as expressing ownership or origin, sufficiently indicates the procession also from the Son. Christ also speaks and acts in a manner indicating this procession, John 20, 22; 15, 26; 16, 7.

The reading of the Athanasian Creed, especially to applicants for confirmation, would serve the purpose of a resumé or review of this doctrine. *(To be continued.)*

DR. MARTIN LUTHER'S TREATISE OF CONFESSION, WHETHER THE POPE HAVE POWER TO ENJOIN SAME.

JESUS.

1. First. The holy king and prophet David has composed a psalm of 176 verses, by far the longest and largest psalm of all, which in its four divisions is daily sung and read in the churches, at prime, tierce, sext, and none. And it is especially strange that each verse from beginning to end prays for nearly

the same thing and has the same content as the other, so that it is tedious, — unless the Spirit guide us, — to hear that in so long a psalm one and the same matter is treated, though in different words, so many times, namely, one hundred and seventy-six times. For the scope of all the verses and of the entire psalm comprises two things: First, that God would guide and teach, instruct and keep us in His ways, commandments, and laws; secondly, that He would keep us from human doctrines and ordinances. Whosoever attends to these two things easily understands every verse and the entire psalm.

2. Second. We ask, Why has the prophet done this? The answer is self-evident, viz.: to give us an earnest warning which we might have before our eyes daily, to beware of, and flee from, human doctrines and laws as from the greatest misfortune on this earth, for nothing glitters more beautifully and does greater harm. Thus Christ, Matt. 7, 15, when He had proclaimed His teaching, concludes with a warning to beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. And He earnestly admonishes the disciples, Matt. 16, 6. 12, to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, that is, as He Himself explains, to beware of human doctrines that teach merely hypocrisy and not foundation truths.

3. Here David has done the same, as if to say: Now, then, I will compose a psalm that contains nothing but a warning of human doctrines, and I will heap the measure even unto surfeit, for I see that they glitter so beautifully, are swallowed so easily, and seduce us from God's laws so craftily and covertly. Accordingly, there has been a good reason for reading this psalm above others daily, although it has been of no avail — Christendom has become filled, nevertheless, with human laws, and even this psalm, contrary to its own intent, has been tied down with human laws. All the priests read it every day, not knowing in the least what they read.

4. Third. Although this psalm ought to be sufficient to give us a horror of commandments of men, the disease has gone

so deep and so far that all men have been brought to believe firmly in a false interpretation, everybody holding that the sayings in this psalm, and similar ones, are directed only against public and great transgressions, and not against the laws of the pope and the priests. Thus they have not only dulled the edge of the sword, but they have placed a piece of horn over it so that it cannot cut, so much so that the laws of the pope, and not Holy Scripture, now rule everywhere. Therefore it is necessary to fight and storm against such old and deeply rooted errors with mighty and trenchant verses of Holy Scripture. Let us see whether we can drive them from the field and reveal their unwarranted procedure and unjust tyranny, so that we may again teach and know that whatsoever God has not commanded is to be avoided as the devil's poison and death, no matter whether the pope or the bishops, whether angels or devils have ordained it.

5. Fourth. In the first place, Moses says Deut. 4, 2 [ch. 12, 23]: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it." Can "to add to" mean anything else than to teach more, and to "diminish from" to teach less than is taught by Scripture? It cannot refer to interpretation, for interpretation neither increases nor diminishes, but merely explains. Is not this a plain passage against all man-made laws? Now what are the pope's laws other than additions pure and simple, on account of which Scripture gives a special name to the devil and calls him in Hebrew "Leviathan," that is, "increaser," one who increases a thing beyond its due limits.

6. Therefore all that add man-made laws to God's laws are surely God's enemies and apostles of Leviathan, and whosoever accepts and keeps these laws is a disciple of Leviathan. It is no excuse to say that Moses has said this not in regard to the New but to the Old Testament; for the apostle says Hebr. 2, 2—4 that we ought to give more earnest heed to the New Testament, given through Christ Himself, than the Old, which

He has given through angels. Thus the popish sect cannot stand before this verse; their laws lie in the dust.

7. Fifth. Similarly, Solomon says, Prov. 30, 5. 6: "Every word of God is pure," tested as by fire; "He is a shield unto them that put their trust in Him. Add thou not unto His words, lest He reprove thee and thou be found a liar." Behold, he speaks of "every word of God," not only of the Old Testament, and denounces all those as culpable and as liars that add anything to it. It must follow, that whosoever puts his trust in human laws and additions trusts in lies and deceptions. Thus the pope is nothing but a teacher of lies and deceiver of all the world, he and all his fellows.

8. This is the origin of the proverb in the prophet Isaiah [ch. 36, 6] and in the Book of Kings [2 Kings 18, 21]: "If a man lean upon a staff of reed, it will break and pierce his hand," that is, if one trust in human teachings that appear to be good and proper; just as a reed closely resembles a solid staff of wood, and yet is worthless and hollow: at last it breaks, and the hand, that is, all the works done by it, is ruined and made a source of weakness. This is the reed which the Jews put into the hands of Christ when they mocked Him, Matt. 27, 29, foreshadowing the future deception of the pope's doctrines and laws.

9. Sixth. In the same manner Isaiah reproves the nation as follows (ch. 1, 22): "Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water." To pour water into wine is to add the commandments of men to God's Word; likewise, to sell dross for silver. The pope is such a thieving merchant selling polluted water for good wine. But I must refrain from using such figurative sayings, although they are attractive and the Scriptures are full of them. For our quarrelsome enemies might evade them, saying: Wine and silver does not signify divine Scripture, or at least not expressly and clearly, and in a controversy we ought to fight with plain passages of Scripture. The children of Israel have set us an example, for in Joshua

(ch. 8, 24; 10, 28) we read that they slew the enemies "with the 'mouth' of the sword," [1] that is, with the sharp edge wherewith it bites and devours, a thing it cannot do with the back or sides. The mouth of the sword is its edge. Thus one must wield the Word of God with the naked edge so that it may mightily devour all opponents and all errors.

10. Seventh. Jeremiah has written an entire chapter on the false prophets (Jer. 23); among other things he says (v. 16): "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you: they make you vain: they speak a vision of their own heart and not out of the mouth of the Lord." Behold, all prophets that speak not out of the mouth of God, deceive, and God forbids us to hearken unto them. Does not this passage plainly say that where God's Word is not preached no one, as he fears God's command and anger, is to listen, and that it is mere deception?

11. O pope, O bishops, O priests, O monks, O theologians, how can you pass in view of this text? Do you deem it a small thing when the high Majesty forbids whatever does not come out of the mouth of God and is something other than God's Word? This was not spoken on the threshing-floor or by a shepherd. If you heard your master say to you: Who has commanded you this? I have not commanded you to do this; I think you would gather this much from his words, that you ought not to have done it and have avoided it as forbidden. What, then, shall we do when the high Majesty says: Do not hearken, it is not my word; are we not in fairness bound to defy the pope in all his mad laws of which he himself must confess that they are only words out of his own heart, not God's words issued from the mouth of God?

12. Eighth. But he continues in the same chapter (v. 21): "I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran: I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied." I think it is proper enough to demand that no one is to preach anything but God's

1) Original Hebrew.

Word, and when Divine Majesty says: I have not commanded it, it is sufficient to indicate that it is not God's Word. Therefore all commandments of men are surely lies, deception, and perdition.

13. To proceed (v. 22): "But if they had stood in my counsel, and had caused my people to hear my words, then they should have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings." Do you not hear again that we must cause the people to hear God's counsel and God's words, and that otherwise no one can be converted from a bad to a good life? God's Word must do it, not the word of men. What need would there be of God's Word, if human doctrines could help us? Moreover, what sort of a God would He be, if His Word did not suffice and needed the additions of men? Ought we not in justice to divide the honor and thanks, giving them not only to God, but also to those that add thereto? But God's Word is so sensitive that it cannot bear any addition; it must be pure, or nothing at all. God can bear that something impure, something that has been added by men, should insinuate itself into our actions and life, but in His Word, which is to cleanse us from all additions and impurities, He cannot tolerate any additions; otherwise our life would not become pure in all eternity. Therefore He calls it (Ps. 12, 7) a silver that is pure, and says: "The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times." This He applies in the same psalm against those who add human doctrines.

14. Ninth. Later on [vv. 28. 29] He says: "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my Word, let him speak my Word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord. Is not my Word like as a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" Behold, human doctrine is "chaff," God's Word is "fire." How well they agree together! And whosoever has God's Word must preach it aright, and not pervert it according to human notions. If anyone have a dream, that is, a revelation in his sleep, let him regard it as such, and not pretend it

to be anything else. For Numb. 12, 6. 8 God declares that He reveals His Word in a threefold manner, in a dream, in a vision, and publicly in the Spirit. And to conclude the quotation from Jeremiah, God continues [vv. 30—32]: "Behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my words everyone from his neighbor" (that is, by the glittering commandments of men they hide the Word of God, so that the people do not see how they are deprived of God's Word, and accept man's words for God's Word). "Behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that use their tongues, and say, He saith. Behold, I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies, and by their lightness; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them; therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the Lord."

15. Tenth. If we are not moved by such words in which God Himself so fully tells us that whatsoever is not His Word is void, we are surely of stone and wood. If He had simply said that they should not teach such things, and if He had not added that they are not His command and His Word, someone might find a loophole and say: That does not reject everything which is not God's Word, but merely that which is evil and contrary to God's Word. Thus they could devise something intermediate between God's Word and false prophets, as they have done ere this. But this intermediate thing has been done away with, and it has been firmly established that God's Word alone, and not human doctrine, is to rule among God's people. For whatever He has not enjoined, advised, or commanded no one is to command or require.

16. Eleventh. Let us proceed to the New Testament and hear first what He Himself says concerning this matter. Matt. 15, 7—9 Christ says to the Jews that kept their commandments of men and reproved His disciples for not keeping them: "Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoreth me with their lips: but their heart is far from me. But in

vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Tell me, What is "to serve God in vain"? Does this text need a gloss? And yet there was no evil in the commandments of those men, such as the washing of hands and clothes and the cleansing of pots and other vessels; why, then, does Christ, as well as Esaias, reject them so utterly? What plea can be brought forth here to save the commandments of men? Who would serve a hangman in vain, let alone God? Who would willingly render vain service?

17. I think Christ has here sufficiently indicated that He would have the commandments of men forbidden. He Himself acted contrary to them; He commanded and permitted His disciples to act contrary to them; He taught and preached against them. He certainly would not have done this and would surely have set us a different example, if God did not reject and forbid man-made doctrines, since Christ was obedient to God in all things. Therefore we must follow His example in all things, and without doubt also in despising man-made ordinances, if we would be true Christians.

18. Twelfth. St. Paul (Rom. 16, 17. 18) says: "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary" (Greek: *παρά*; Vulgate: *praeter;* German: *neben*) "to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple." He speaks not of doctrines which are set up in opposition to, but by the side of, true doctrine. These are the additions that produce divisions and may easily offend the simple, so that they miss the right way and cling to the additions. Of this Solomon writes (Prov. 4, 24—27): "Put away from thee a froward mouth, and perverse lips put far from thee. Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eyelids look straight before thee. Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established. Turn not to the right hand nor to the left, remove thy foot from evil." Why, do you think, does Solomon at such length express his desire to keep us in

the undeviating path? Is it not because God's Word and way alone ought to be before our eyes, without any byway whatsoever, whether to the right or to the left, whether good or bad? Now, human doctrines are surely mere byways and not God's highway.

19. Thirteenth. Similarly, St. Peter says (2 Pet. 2, 1. 2): "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon them swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways." Behold, he also speaks of byways and sects; this cannot be aught else than human doctrine, extraneous to God's doctrine and ways; and the more beautifully they glitter the worse they are.

20. On this point Solomon has written two parables in the 7th and 8th chapters of Proverbs. Here he earnestly warns us against the harlot that uses sweet words and deserts the master of her youth, and forgets the covenant she made with her God. All this is said with regard to the last times when the devil's church with human doctrines deceives the Church of God. And Solomon describes her as follows (Prov. 9, 13—18): "A foolish woman is clamorous; she is simple, and knoweth nothing. For she sitteth at the door of her house, on a seat in the high places of the city, to call passengers who go right on their ways: Whoso is simple, let him turn hither: and as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him, Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant. But he knoweth not that the dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of hell."

21. O pope, how well thou, together with thy church, hast been portrayed in this parable! Who sits in a high place in Christendom? Who sits at the door on the street? Who else but our formalists with their external visible holiness? Who entices those that walk aright unto himself into the murderers' den and depth of hell? Who is more loquacious and unlearned

in God's ways than this mad crowd of hypocrites? Who seduces the simple and those that lack understanding? What are the stolen waters and the bread eaten in secret other than this, that one pretending to have divine truth fill the simple with human doctrine? It is a parable and cannot be said of a real human harlot.

22. Fourteenth. Similarly, Prov. 7, 4—27 he says of the same devil's harlot: "My son, say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister; and call understanding thy kinswoman: that they may keep thee from the strange woman, from the stranger which flattereth with her words. For at the window of my house I looked through my casement, and beheld among the simple ones, I discerned among the youths, a young man void of understanding, passing through the street near her corner; and he went the way to her house, in the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night: and, behold, there met him a woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtil of heart. (She is loud and stubborn; her feet abide not in her house: now is she without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner.) So she caught him, and kissed him, and with an impudent face said unto him, I have peace offerings with me; this day have I payed my vows. Therefore came I forth to meet thee, diligently to seek thy face, and I have found thee. I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved works, with fine linen of Egypt. I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning: let us solace ourselves with loves. For the goodman is not at home, he is gone a long journey: he hath taken a bag of money with him, and will come home at the day appointed. With her much fair speech she caused him to yield, with the flattering of her lips she forced him. He goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter, or as a fool to the correction of the stocks; till a dart strike through his liver; as a bird hasteth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life. Hearken unto me now therefore, O ye children, and attend to the words of my mouth. Let not thine heart decline

to her ways, go not astray in her paths. For she hath cast down many wounded: yea, many strong men have been slain by her. Her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death."

23. Fifteenth. This certainly is speaking in parables. And although it might be understood as depicting a real woman, still the true interpretation is to take it as directed against human doctrines inasmuch as Solomon himself says that he speaks exclusively in parables and allegories. Christ does likewise in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, ch. 13, 34. 35. He plainly foresaw that in the eventide of the world, when the sun of faith shall have set and when a mad people devoid of understanding shall follow their vagaries on earth in external ways and specious holiness, this would be a people meet for this harlot called human wisdom and doctrine. She highly praises and adorns herself, promises much and makes the way unto salvation easy, as we see it done before our eyes in the church of the pope, which tallies to every word of this description. But to follow out this interpretation would take too long; enough has been said for the wise, and we must now fight with clear texts of Scripture, as was said above.

24. Sixteenth. St. Paul says twice (Gal. 1, 8. 9): "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which ye have received, let him be accursed." That is certainly a hard saying of the apostle. Now human doctrine is undoubtedly something else than the Gospel, and must, therefore, surely be accursed. But let us see, they have made a loophole in this passage, with a gloss that reads as follows: The words "any other gospel" do not mean here that we are not to teach or observe anything beside the Gospel, but that we ought not to contradict or deny the Gospel, and this the pope with his laws is not doing. Now listen, are they not fine glossarists? If I now asked them what ground they have for this gloss, and who gives them power thus to wrest the words of the apostle, they will say as we may read of them in the twelfth Psalm (v. 5): We have the power, why dost thou ask?

And as the pope with puffed cheeks blusters and sputters in his decretal: "Ubi est majoritas, ibi est mandandi auctoritas, caeteris manet obediendi necessitas." Because we are in the majority, we have power to command; all others are bound to obey. I ween that sounds apostolic and Christian!

25. Seventeenth. But this gloss is easily refuted; in the first place, it is their own fabrication, without any foundation in Scripture. For they can cite no example in which these words have this meaning. In the second place, it is clear that St. Paul does not argue against those who contradicted or denied the Gospel, as they falsely represent, but against some disciples of the other apostles who desired to inculcate the law of Moses beside the Gospel. For he says more than once that they should not obey those who would introduce circumcision, holidays, and other laws of Moses in addition to the Gospel. Observe now, if St. Paul could not suffer the law of Moses given by God till the time of Christ to be preached, in addition to the Word of God and His Gospel, and if he so earnestly cursed himself and all angels from heaven if they taught any addition: what would he say in regard to the ordinances of the pope and other men which God has never commanded?

26. Therefore, this saying of Paul is truly a thunder-clap that drives the pope with all his doctrinal dreams and mad commandments as dust into the ground. No one can stand up against this verse. St. Paul was not so ineloquent or so poor in words, he would have been able to say: If anyone contradict or deny the Gospel, let him be accursed, if that had been what he meant in saying "any other gospel." For 1 Tim. 1, 3. 4 he speaks similarly and says: "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine, neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies." Here we see again that the apostle is not concerned about a denial of the Gospel, but about other, additional doctrines and teachings, which secretly turn the people away from the Gospel ere they are aware of it.

27. Eighteenth. Even more clearly he speaks Col. 2, 8: "Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Could anything be clearer? He plainly says: Whatsoever is not after Christ, that is, after Christ's Word and doctrine, is deceit and must be avoided. He expressly names all natural knowledge and wisdom (philosophy), all human doctrine; what more could he name? What does he suffer to remain, save Christ alone? As philosophy is surely the greatest thing man can have, so human laws are the most spiritual thing they can have. But it is all error and deceit, says St. Paul.

28. Nineteenth. In order that we may not carry this matter to an undue length, he gives to the commandments of men a severe blow, Tit. 1, 13. 14, and commands him thus: "Rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men, that turn from the truth." What an honor for human ordinances, to say that they merely lead and turn men away from the truth! From this we can easily gather what the apostle St. Paul thinks of the pope and as whose vice-regent he regards him. He regards him as the vice-regent of Lucifer in hell who is the father of all lies (John 8, 44), and as his apostle exalted in Rome, in order to seduce and corrupt all Christendom under the name of Christ as is now the case. Here the proverb is appropriate: Where God builds a church the devil erects a chapel by its side; and where a church is dedicated, there a tavern and fair is bound to be. Thus in the Old Testament he has at all times erected foreign altars and places of worship besides the temple and raised false prophets for them, and in the New Testament he has introduced, besides the holy Gospel, the doctrine of the pope and his sect, until now he alone preaches everywhere and the Gospel lies under the seat.

29. Twentieth. But what if they hold up before us the church councils in which many things have been commanded that are not found in Scripture? Answer: In some councils

articles of faith have been explained by Scripture, for instance, in the Nicene, and some things have been ordained that were drawn from Scripture and founded in Scripture; to observe them is the same as observing the Word of God. But whatever human things have been ordained therein (and the majority or, rather, almost all are of this class) are not observed even by those who praise the councils so highly. They often disagree, one commanding what the other condemns, and the decrees of the councils have become so involved and numerous that they now ordain nothing out of Scripture, but merely out of their own heads, in a great and impious presumption that the Holy Spirit is with them and will not suffer them to err; therefore without fear, without reverence, without understanding they do what they please in the councils, and have corrupted their faith. And if we were to keep and know the laws of all councils, it would be necessary to send more printers into the world and to obtain for men a longer life. Even as it is, a great ocean of such statutes has been collected in course of time; but because it was human trash, it has disappeared in course of time, with the exception of those parts that support the holy Roman chair. These alone have been graven in adamant and preserved a thousand times more carefully than the Gospel of Christ. In what spirit this is done anyone can easily see.

30. Twenty-first. Therefore councils or no councils, if their statutes are commandments of men, they have no value, for they are not councils, but taverns and Jewish synagogues. I believe Christ, nay, even His apostle St. Paul more than all councils, though they be as numerous as the grains of sand in the sea and the stars in the heavens; and he calls down a curse upon himself and all angels if they preach anything except God's Word. Councils must deal with Scripture or with an undoubted indication of the Holy Spirit, as did the first council of the apostles, Acts 15, 6 sqq. It will be a long time before they prove that a council have the Holy Spirit and that they sit as representatives of all Christendom, as they drivel and pretend, unless they deal with Scripture and God's Word. They

will not be believed offhand on account of their boasting and their own testimony. Self-glorification stinks, says Solomon. (Prov. 27, 24.)

31. And, if it must be said, one of the greatest misfortunes in the Christian Church is the shameful, damnable notion that the councils are regarded as having the Holy Spirit, though scarcely one of twenty uses Scripture and shows the guidance of the Spirit. They saw that the first councils, proceeding in the Spirit, have obtained authority, and now they have obtruded themselves into the same honor, regardless of the fact that they, in their life and spirit, may differ by a thousand miles from the first holy fathers in their councils. And as they preach their own lies under God's name and under a pretense of divine truth, so they give to our poor souls under the name and title of holy councils the brood of their synagogues and taverns. In short, when we come to the market with the common people we must pay for pepper and eat the droppings of mice.

32. Twenty-second. If it required no more to form a council than a gathering of many men wearing cardinals' hats and bishops' infulae and barrets, one might gather the wooden saints of the churches and place on their heads cardinals' hats and bishops' infulae and barrets and call it a council. Henceforth there would be no need of the Holy Spirit or of the Gospel in councils; any painter or sculptor could make a council. Are these unlearned, unspiritual cardinals, bishops, and doctors more than wooden blocks? They treat us to a carnival play with their hats and tonsure and caps, so that we might regard them as that which they had rather not be; and yet they have their garments, their gestures, and their position, and frighten us with the saying of Christ (Luke 10, 16): "He that heareth you heareth me;" just as if Christ had commanded them to say what they please. But He says thus (Matt. 28, 20): "Go ye and teach them all things whatsoever I have commanded you;" surely not whatsoever they might fabricate.

33. But someone might say (and this accusation has been raised against me): If there is to be no human law, we cannot

have civil government; would you destroy all authority? I answer: How does this concern civil government? We know well enough that Paul and Peter have commanded us to respect civil authority and laws, Rom. 13, 1; Tit. 3, 1; 1 Pet. 2, 13. But the civil powers do not presume to govern the consciences; they deal only with temporal possessions. A stone-mason must have a law prohibiting him from taking the length of an ell as half an ell; a cobbler, a law not to make shoes of men's size for a child; and even murderers must have a law for an equal division of the booty. In what respect do such laws concern the spirit and conscience? Thus civil government has a law that no one is to harm his neighbor in his property, honor, and body, but it does not claim that thereby our conscience is well ordered before God. But the pope and his spiritual lawgivers fly with Lucifer higher than the heavens, pretending that their laws are divine, that they make us blameless before God, and govern and lead the consciences aright. This thing God cannot endure; here He is jealous. For in our consciences He *will* be alone and have His Word to govern alone; here must be freedom from all commandments of men. If, now, the pope, as the emperor does, would let the consciences alone and would extend his penalties no farther than the emperor, there would be no complaint. But he insists on holding the consciences captive, and asserts that his word is equal to God's Word, and falsely attaches eternal punishment and eternal reward to his laws, a thing no emperor does. Therefore he is the Antichrist that exalts himself above God (2 Thess. 2, 4), and breaks into the bridal chamber of Christ, and makes strumpets of the souls of all Christians.

34. O thou, greatest of all procurers, how far does thy malice and wickedness surpass all words, all thoughts, all understanding! Who can count the consciences which he thus leads astray and strangles and defiles with his laws in all the world. This St. Paul [2 Thess. 2, 9] speaks of as the final and proper working of Satan, the highest and worst devil.

35. Let this suffice as to commandments of men; I hope it has been established firmly enough with passages of Scripture that they are to be shunned as the greatest misfortune on earth. Now let us continue and come to the subject matter for which this preface has been written, namely, secret confession of which all the world complains and justly complains. Let us see, first, whether it be ordained by God or by man, and then instruct ourselves properly. Many have in times past concerned themselves with this question, and the pope would have derived an enormous amount of money if that fair based on human law had been opened. And yet the evil spirit had in view something else that concerned him more than the pope's avarice, otherwise he would have stirred it up long ago.

Fort Wayne, Ind. W. H. KRUSE.

(To be continued.)

WARTBURG LETTERS OF LUTHER.

(Continued.)

There are four letters extant from the month of June. The first is addressed

To FRANCIS VON SICKINGEN.[1]

Dr. Martin Luther to august and brave Francis von Sickingen, my particular lord and patron:

Grace from God and peace in Christ, our Lord! We read, my lord, in the Book of Joshua that, when God brought the people of Israel into the promised land of Canaan and slew all people therein, namely, one hundred and thirty-one

1) This letter was forwarded together with Luther's treatise "Of Confession, whether the Pope Have Authority to Enjoin Same." It is found in Luther's Works, Wittenb. Ed. VII, 258; Jena Ed. I, 501; Altenb. Ed. I, 783; Leips. Ed. XVII, 692; Erlang. Ed. 27, 318. St. Louis Ed. XIX, 814; also in De Wette II, 13.

kings with all their towns, there was no city so humble as to sue for peace, save Gibeon only,—although Israel had received command from God to offer and to accept peace,—but all were hardened in insolence to make war upon Israel. Hence, the same book speaks of them, ch. 11, 19. 20, as follows: "There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon: all other they took in battle. For it was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no favor," etc.

This story, it seems to me, promises to become an example to our popes, bishops, doctors, and other spiritual tyrants, who plainly see and grasp that people are renouncing and tiring of their pretensions, and that everywhere the clear light is revealing in many ways their deceptive and enticing offenses, so that every cover is becoming too short and narrow for them. Still they are not humbled, do not sue for peace, yea, suffer it to be offered them in vain, are emboldened and undertake to quench the light by force and to maintain themselves in power, imagining that they are holding their saddles so firmly that they could not be unhorsed. And I am afraid that this is sent them by God, that, being hardened, they give no thought to humility and do not seek peace, and so they shall have to perish in the end, without mercy.

They are blaming me, although they well know how, in their pride, they have hitherto despised a poor man like me. I have often offered them peace; I have cried and run, have offered to make reply, have debated with them, and have now appeared at two diets. It has all been of no avail to me. I did not meet with justice, but with nefarious practices and violence. They have done no more than to order me to recant and have threatened me with every misfortune.

Well, when the hour shall come for them to cry in vain for peace, I hope that they will remember what they are now earning for themselves. I can do no more; I have now been

pushed from the stage. They have an opportunity now for mending what people cannot, shall not, and will not tolerate of them. If they do not make the change, Another will make it without their thanks, and He will not, like Luther, teach them by letters and words but by deeds. Praise and thanks be to God, because fear and awe of the scarecrow at Rome has at last decreased, and the chapter *Si quis suadente*[2] no longer works a spell on people. Men can now pronounce that sort of a blessing themselves.

However, lest I be idle in this wilderness of my Patmos I have also written my Apocalypse,[3] which I shall communicate to all who wish to hear it, and which I herewith transmit to your august lordship, in order thereby to show my cordial affection and gratitude for your manifold comfortings and services rendered to my unworthiness. It is a sermon on confession, which I wrote for this reason: During Lent this year I issued a gentle instruction to parishioners,[4] with a request to our spiritual lords and tyrants not to disturb the peace of conscience of simple people on account of my books. At the same time I showed that their tyrannical way of administering confession was unwarranted. But they rush on headstrong, never heeding or considering aught. Well, I have seen bubbles burst ere this, and once upon a time I beheld smoke so vile that it threatened to put out the sun. But the smoke is gone, and the sun is still shining. I shall continue to burnish and to set forth the truth, and my fear of my ungracious lords shall be as small as their contempt of me is great. Neither of us has crossed the mountain yet; however, I have this advantage, that

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2) A chapter from the papal decretals outlining the mode of procedure when a person, prompted by the devil (*suadente diabolo*), had laid hands on a priest.

3) Cf. Rev. 1, 9.

4) "Dr. Martin Luther's Instruction for those going to confession, how to act in case the papal clergy refuse to absolve them unless they surrender his books which had been interdicted." This treatise was published during February, 1521, before Luther set out for Worms. See St. Louis Ed. XIX, 808 ff.

I am traveling unencumbered. God grant victory to the truth! Godspeed to you! I commend to your grace Ulrich von Hutten and Martin Bucer.

Given in my Patmos, the first day of June, 1521. —

The next letter was written a week later and addressed

To Justus Jonas.[5]

Jesus.

To the honorable Dr. Justus Jonas, provost of the collegiate institution at Wittenberg, his superior in the Lord, Martin Luther wishes grace in the Lord.

I, too, should have liked very much to congratulate you heartily, my dear Jonas, upon your recent accession to office;[6] however, as I could not be present in person, I have resolved to send you herewith my Latomus. But he is no longer a reviler of the knowledge of languages; for this Ishbi-benob has been laid low by the strength of our Abishai (2 Sam. 21, 16. 17); so you can be unconcerned. Nor is he even a tardy advocate trying to justify the crime of these Loewen marauders under the malicious cover of a feigned modesty and of cunning, yet luckless, expressions. For you have seen yourself, I believe, how this person vauntingly places his reliance only on his master, the pope, and his bull. But I send you a Latomus who has been expurgated by Luther's purgative and now appears to have been eased of the sprites and hobgoblins, with which he was formerly driven about himself and was wont to drive pious souls about. If they had offered this "Proof" betimes and had consulted these wise people before acting, as behooved them, they would neither have condemned nor burned

5) This letter is the epistle dedicatory to Luther's reply to Latomus and the University of Loewen. (See Theol. Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 100, note 41.) Luther's reply was published at Wittenberg during August, 1521, and a second edition appeared in the year following. The letter to Jonas is found in Luther's Works, Wittenb. Ed. II, 223; Jena Latin Ed. II, 400; Erlang. Ed. Opera varii argum. V, 397. St. Louis Ed. XVIII, 1057.

6) Jonas had been made professor and provost at Wittenberg in 1521. (See Guericke, *Kirchengesch. III*, 75.)

my books, nor would they have taken counsel, like fools, after acting. So much I hope to have achieved. Latomus teaches me quite sufficiently in this treatise of his how easy it has been for them, in Luther's absence, to prate in their nooks: That is heresy! That is false! If they did not rely on might, they would not have dared to attack these matters openly.

Besides, I am persuaded that Latomus would never have published this glorious "Proof," if the bull had not fanned the fire of his confidence. Relying on it, he brags that his action has been approved, still dreaming of the antiquated and obsolete terror of bulls, and hence, he imagines that he has terrorized the whole world with his treatise, and he dares irreverently, in opposing Luther, to dilly-dally with the awful Scriptures of God. However, I should not like to see such an act go unapproved by such a bull. Nor should I wish, on the other hand, not to have been anathematized by such a bull. Everything harmonizes gloriously: the bull, the cause, the judge, and the advocate. May the Lord Jesus keep me and all pious souls from their contaminating fellowship. Amen.

However, you can hardly believe how reluctantly I have wrested myself from the peaceable writings of Christ on which I have been engaged,[7] and have wasted time reading the chicaneries of a bristling and thorny sophist. For I had before me a person who was a sophist from head to foot and was, in addition, puffed up on account of this bauble of a bull, and yet wrote with so much confidence that he regarded both painstaking and consideration of his subject as unnecessary. He was content to babble just what he chanced to have read or what came into his mouth. Now, there is not a task more

7) At the close of his "Refutation of Latomus" we find this remark (1198): "However, I revert to you, my dear Jonas, and am sending this Latomus away so as to be rid of an annoyance, because I have now begun my German Exposition of the Gospels and Epistles; that is the reason why reading and replying to his filth has proven an annoyance." In the letter to Melanchthon of May 26th there was a similar reference to the work on his *Kirchenpostille*. And that, rather than his translation of the New Testament, is probably what Luther refers to also at this place.

tedious than replying to such people, because, by so doing, one can neither exercise the mind nor advance learning, and is simply forced to squander most precious hours. I surmise that this fellow believed that Luther had been removed or forever silenced, and that they might reoccupy the entire world with the tyranny of their sophistry. They blame me not a little on account of the overthrow and mitigation of their tyranny. Would to God the overthrow had been complete, and I had been able to commit a mortal sin and to contract that perfect guilt which is unpardonable to the seventh degree, if we are to believe the most holy popes who issue the bulls.

I fear, however, that while we are bravely disputing concerning grace and good works we are depriving ourselves both of grace and of works. When I behold these fearful signs of the divine wrath, I for my person have no other desire than that fountains of tears might be given to my head, Jer. 9, 1, in order that I might weep over the extreme destruction of souls which this kingdom of sin and perdition has brought about. The monster at Rome is sitting in the Church and pretends to be God; the bishops are flattering, the sophists are paying homage, and hypocrites are doing all for him. Meanwhile "hell hath enlarged herself and opened her mouth without measure," Is. 5, 14, and Satan is sporting with the destruction of souls. And there is no one among us on this day of wrath to arise, earnestly and with tears, and to make up the hedge for the house of Israel, Ezek. 13, 5. Accordingly, I am filled with indignation against such blasphemous men as Latomus who are practicing sophistry in such serious matters and compel us to lay aside more profitable matters and to be occupied with their raving nonsense, and I imprecate upon their exceedingly hard heads the prayer in Ps. 6, 11: "Let all mine enemies be ashamed and sore vexed: let them return and be ashamed suddenly."

However, lest I detain you with too long a letter, I shall answer the main points in Latomus' preface by another introduction. Accept, for the present, this testimony of my

affection for you and pray the Lord for me that I may also be delivered — for I now make bold to speak thus with the apostle, Rom. 15, 31 — from these evil and unbelieving men at Babel, and that a door may be opened unto me for the praise of the glory of His Son's grace in the Gospel. However, I also pray the Lord to grant you His Holy Spirit to the end that you may lecture on the pestiferous decretals of Antichrist, which you are commissioned to teach, for no other purpose than I told you, viz., that you should go, attired like Aaron in sacred garments, *i. e.*, armed with the words of Holy Writ, and bearing before you the censer of prayer, to meet the destroyer in the midst of this Roman conflagration which has set the whole world on fire, but shall soon be put out by another conflagration from heaven, namely, by the coming of our Savior, for which we are waiting. This, then, is what you ought to do, my dear brother; you must teach your pupils that they must forget what you are teaching, and that they must know that men should flee from all that the pope and the papists ordain and observe, as they would from deadly poison. For since we cannot abolish this public nuisance of the world by force and are compelled to be in charge of these blasphemous offices of Babylon, the only course left open to us is, to discharge them in such a manner as to declare them to be quite foreign to, and destroyers and enemies of insatiable cruelty, hostile to our fatherland, the heavenly Jerusalem, lest we laugh and cast sheep's-eyes at our own bondage with those who are lost and to whom the Gospel of the glory of God is hid, 2 Cor. 4, 3.

Do not regard your office lightly; for after teaching the venomous filth of the pope and his excessively mad nonsense you are to teach the Gospel of Jesus Christ which brings life and salvation, thus furnishing to our youths an antidote against this poison, the very odor of which slays men, until they shall have learned to reject of their own accord what is evil, and to choose what is good. May our Emmanuel be commended to you! Be strong, then, and quit yourself like a man, and be not afraid of this Baal-Peor, for he is hardly a Beelzebub,

that is, a lord of fleas, provided only we believe. For Jesus Christ is the Lord, indeed, to whom be praise for evermore! Amen. May He perfect and strengthen you and His little Church with you. In His name farewell.

Given at my place of sojourn abroad, June 8, 1521.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEW.

LUTHERAN WITNESS TRACT No. 13: *Opinions on Secret Societies,* collected and arranged by *Wm. Dallmann.* Second edition, revised. American Lutheran Publication Board, 2103-5 S. Sidney St., Pittsburg, Pa. Price per copy, 5 cts.; dozen, 50 cts.; hundred, $3.50.

This tract contains 125 opinions, 35 of preachers of various denominations, 25 of college presidents, professors, etc., 22 of editors, the remainder of statesmen. The tract is useful chiefly in meeting the charge that the "Missouri Lutherans" are alone in their opposition to secret oathbound societies of a religious character. We should not be afraid to maintain this opposition alone, in the consciousness of a higher Power being allied to our humble testimony; but we are naturally pleased to have company on this ground, and should be still more pleased if the company were still more congenial and agreed with us, especially on the great questions which still divide the Church. — We join the author in his prayer: "May these testimonies confirm us in our stand, keep back those that would enter, and draw out those that are in, such societies."

THE PRECIOUS AND SACRED WRITINGS OF MARTIN LUTHER. Based on the Kaiser Chronological Edition, with Refcrence to the Erlangen and Walch Editions. *Vol. XI: Luther's Church Postil,* Gospels for Epiphany, Lent, and Easter Sermons. By *Prof. John Nicholas Lenker, D. D.* Vol. II. Second Thousand. Lutherans in All Lands Co., Minneapolis, Minn. 1906. 16 and 398 pp.

This volume arrived too late for review in our present issue, and will be discussed in our October issue.

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THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

VOL. X. OCTOBER, 1906. No. 4.

WHY DID LUTHER REFUSE ZWINGLI'S HAND OF BROTHERHOOD AT MARBURG?

The first four days of October mark the anniversary of the memorable meeting between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg. At this celebrated conference Zwingli offered the hand of Christian brotherhood and fellowship to Luther; but Luther refused it. Why did he do this? Before we proceed to answer this question, we shall do well to review the events that led up to this colloquy.

Charles V had concluded a treaty with Pope Clement VII and had solemnly pledged himself to suppress Protestantism. The German Protestants formed a defensive alliance in which the Landgrave of Hesse, Philip the Magnanimous, was anxious to have the Swiss included. Zwingli was equally anxious for this. But an obstacle was in the way — the controversy between the Lutherans and Zwinglians on the Lord's Supper. Who had begun this controversial conflict? That is a question which Reformed writers usually pass over in silence, for they know that Zwingli was the author of this heated and unhappy controversy.[1] It is an undeniable fact that prior to the year 1524 Zwingli and his friends were at one with Luther in teaching the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper. In 1521 Oecolampadius, Zwingli's friend, called it

1) See Luther's Works, St. Louis Edition, vol. XX, col. 772; XVII, 1534, Luther's Letters, De Wette, vol. III, 43.

blasphemy to deny the real presence, and in 1523 Zwingli solemnly avowed his agreement with Luther.[2]

But while Zwingli was solemnly declaring his agreement with Luther, he was secretly dissenting from him in the article of the Lord's Supper. He did not have the courage, however, to express this dissent, and thus played the part of a hypocrite. He practically pleads guilty to this charge in his famous letter to the Lutheran preacher Matthew Alberus at Reutlingen.[3] This letter, which is dated November 16, 1524, contains his first public denial of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Contemporaneously he defended Carlstadt's doctrine both from the pulpit and before the Zurich Council. The following month he sent copies of the so-called Alberus letter to a number of theologians in Southern Germany. In March, 1525, he published his "Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione" (Commentary on True and False Religion). Five months later the "Subsidium" or Supplement followed. In September, 1525, Oecolampadius attacked the real presence in a tract entitled, "De genuina verborum Domini: 'Hoc est corpus meum' juxta vetustissimos auctores expositione liber" (Tract on the true exposition of the Lord's words: "This is my body," according to the most ancient authors). In February, 1526, Zwingli sought to popularize his new doctrine in a German treatise entitled, "Ein klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahl Christi." About a year later, February 28, 1527, he issued his "Amica Exegesis" (Friendly Exposition), and in March, 1527, his "Fruendliche Verglimphung und Ableinung" (Friendly Criticism and Defense).

Despite their amicable titles, these writings abound in coarse, contemptuous, bitter, and truly blasphemous statements. In a letter written to Michael Stiefel, May, 1527,[4] Luther

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2) For documentary evidence see Ernst Solomon Cyprian's "Unterricht von kirchlicher Vereinigung," pp. 166. 183 sq.

3) St. L. Ed. XVII, 1526.

4) De Wette III, 172 sq.; St. L. Ed. XXI a, 936.

says: "There is no offense or cruelty[5] of which he does not accuse me, so that even the Papists, my enemies, do not wound me as these our friends do." Zwingli and his friends called Luther's doctrine an absurd superstition, an impious and silly error. They termed the Lutherans new Papists, stupid men, Capernaites, flesh-devourers, anthropophagi, blood-drinkers, idolaters, men who worship a baked god, etc. The God of the Lutherans they called a god made of bread, an eatable and drinkable god.[6]

Although Zwingli had thus begun the controversy and was continuing it with increasing acrimony, Luther kept silent for more than a year. Zwingli felt offended because he did not reply to his arguments. Although Luther had already set forth his opinion at length, in 1523, in his treatise, "Vom Anbeten des Sakraments," and again, in 1525, in the treatise, "Wider die himmlischen Propheten," the Zwinglians clamored: "Why does Luther keep silent? why does he not come out with his opinion?"[7] They were determined to draw him into the conflict. But as he was busily engaged in other important work, he allowed his friends to answer for him. He did not take up his pen against Zwingli till the year 1526, when he wrote a preface to the German translation of the Swabian Syngramma.

So long as this sacramentarian conflict continued, Philip of Hesse could not hope to unite all the Protestants against Charles V. So he invited the leaders on both sides to meet in his castle at Marburg for the purpose of composing their doctrinal differences. The conference was held October 1—4, 1529. Zwingli and his associates, who had most strenuously denied that the body and blood of Christ are present in any sense in the sacrament, now admitted a spiritual presence, but persistently refused to believe in the real presence. Luther

5) While Zwingli was accusing Luther of cruelty, Anabaptists were being drowned in public at Zurich. See Koestlin, Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften, II, p. 73; Hausrath, Martin Luther, II, p. 198.

6) St. L. Ed. XVII, 1526. 1535; XX, 735. 771. 1768 sq., et passim.

7) De Wette III, 202; St. L. Ed. XVII, 1581.

was requested to draw up a series of propositions embracing those points of doctrine concerning which it was thought that both parties agreed. He consented, and drafted the so-called "Marburg Articles."[8] In the last article he declares: "We all believe and hold with regard to the Supper of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the primitive institution; also, that the mass is not a work by which one obtains pardon for another, whether dead or alive; also, that the Sacrament of the Altar is a sacrament of the very body and blood of Jesus Christ, and that the spiritual eating and drinking of this body and blood is especially necessary to every Christian. In like manner, as to the use of the sacrament, we are agreed that, like the Word, it was given and ordained of Almighty God to excite weak consciences to faith and charity by the Holy Spirit." The only point left in dispute was "whether the true body and blood of Christ are *bodily* present in the bread and wine." To the surprise of the Lutherans, Zwingli and his associates signed these articles, and thereby ostensibly receded from all their errors but one. We say ostensibly; for later developments showed that Zwingli dealt deceitfully with Luther. Within ten months after the Colloquy, he wrote his "Fidei Ratio," which he intended to present at the Diet at Augsburg in 1530. In this confession of faith he repeated those errors which he had seemingly repudiated over his own signature at Marburg. And in his "Christianae Fidei Brevis et Clara Expositio," which appeared shortly before his tragic end (October 11, 1531), he went so far as to assert that such heathen as Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, the Catos and Scipios will be found in heaven with the Patriarchs.[9] Why this dishonesty and deception? Because they were anxious to appear to be at one with the Lutherans and to be admitted to the Protestant alliance. Zwingli said with tears in his eyes: "There are no people on earth with whom I would rather be united

8) St. L. Ed. XVII, 1939 sqq.

9) Zwinglii Opera IV, p. 65; St. L. Ed. XX, 1767.

than with the Wittenbergers." The Landgrave urged both parties to acknowledge each other as brethren. Zwingli was more than willing to do so. Bursting into tears in the presence of all, he approached Luther and offered the hand of fraternal fellowship to him. But Luther refused it, saying: "Ihr habt einen andern Geist als wir" (You have a different spirit from ours). His associates, especially Melanchthon, agreed with him. "Behold their folly," said the mild Melanchthon, "although they condemn us, they nevertheless desire of us to be regarded as brethren." [10]

This rejection of Zwingli's hand has received many unfavorable criticisms. The Reformed and indifferentistic writers regard it as highly discreditable to the great Reformer. With but few exceptions, they all ascribe it to hatred, envy, want of charity, contentiousness, obstinacy, and the like ignoble motives. This harsh, uncharitable censure, which is to be found in nearly every non-Lutheran history and cyclopedia, need not surprise us, however; for Luther's critics view his conduct at Marburg through glasses that are colored by partisanship or by religious indifference. They are either the spiritual children of Zwingli, or they have drunk of the intoxicating cup of indifferentism and unionism. To expect praise and approval of Luther's attitude at Marburg from such persons would be expecting a psychological miracle.

These critics ascribe his rejection of Zwingli's hand to personal hatred and envy. But the charge is false and unfounded. There is not a scrap of evidence which shows that Luther hated Zwingli, or that he was jealous of him. It is true, in a letter to Melanchthon, dated October 27, 1527,[11] Luther says: "I deem Zwingli most deserving of holy hatred, who treats the holy Word of God so impertinently and frivolously." But notice that it is not personal animosity, but *holy* hatred of which he considers Zwingli worthy. And the reason why he considers him worthy of holy hatred is not that he is a

10) De Wette III, 514; St. L. Ed. XVII, 1956.
11) De Wette III, 216; St. L. Ed. XV, 2630.

personal rival, but because he handles the holy Word of God so impertinently and frivolously. When Zwingli fell in the battle at Cappel, Luther did not rejoice; his heart was filled with unspeakable grief so that he thought for two nights that he would die for sorrow.[12] Yes, in a letter written to the Landgrave May 20, 1530, he appeals to God as a witness that he did not resist Zwingli out of hatred or pride.[13] Zwingli had indeed given him ample reason for rancor and resentment. He had without cause attacked him most violently. He had heaped upon him insult and abuse. He had called his doctrine an absurd superstition, a relapse into papacy, an impious and silly error. He had applied to him and his friends such vulgar and vilifying epithets as flesh-devourers, blood-drinkers, anthropophagi, and the like. But all this biting sarcasm, all this bitter abuse, all this virulent calumny Luther did not even refer to at Marburg. Not a word of reproach escaped his lips. Was that a proof of uncharitableness? Was that a manifestation of personal rancor? Indeed, if this was not an evidence of charity and meekness overflowing, then we have never known what love and meekness are.[14]

Moreover, the hand which could not accept Zwingli's hand of brotherhood did nevertheless pen the following concluding paragraph of the Marburg Articles: "But although at present we are not agreed on the question whether the true body and blood of Christ are bodily present in the bread and wine, still *each party shall show to the other Christian love,* so far as each one's conscience may permit."[15] A few days after the conference he wrote to his friend John Agricola: "Finally they asked that we should at least acknowledge them as brethren, and this the Prince urged strongly, but it could not be conceded to them. However, *we gave them the hand of peace and love,* that meanwhile the hard words and writings should rest, and

12) St. L. Ed. XX, 1682 f. 1766.
13) De Wette IV, 26; St. L. Ed. XVII, 1963 sq.
14) Cf. St. L. Ed. XX, 1768. 1770.
15) Ibid. XVII, 1942 sq.

each teach his opinion without invective, but not without defense and refutation."[16] From this it appears very plainly that Luther did not deny them his love. On the contrary, he assured them both by word of mouth and in writing that he entertained charitable sentiments toward them, and this promise he solemnly ratified by giving them his right hand. "We gave them the hand of peace and love." Was that uncharitableness?

That Luther's refusal of Zwingli's hand of Christian brotherhood and fellowship was not prompted by uncharitableness, but rather by charity, must appear to every one who knows what charity is. For what is charity? True, genuine, Christian charity is not a maudlin sentiment which yields to the neighbor even in such things as are against God and his own good. Such pliancy or facility does not deserve even the name of good nature. Love of the right kind rather requires that we warn and reprove our erring neighbor. The Law says: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him," Lev. 19, 17. To withhold such reproof is a sin against love, a practical hating of the erring brother. True love will not suffer him to continue blindly in error. It seeks to lead him to the knowledge of the truth. St. James says: "Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him; let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death." (Ch. 5, 19. 20.) Now, Zwingli had evidently erred from the truth. His view of the Lord's Supper was a grave and dangerous error. Even John Calvin considered it a "false and pernicious opinion."[17] It was, therefore, Luther's duty to "rebuke" the erring Zwingli. No one will say that he neglected this duty. To show that this reproof was administered in good earnest he refused to fellowship him so long as he continued in error. Had he yielded to Zwingli, had he entered into brotherly fellowship with him, he would have

16) De Wette III, 513 sq.; St. L. Ed. XVII, 1955.
17) Calvini Opera, X b, 345 sq.

violated the law of Christian love. By accepting his right hand of fellowship he would have encouraged him in his error. For Zwingli would have interpreted such acceptance of his hand as a quasi recognition of his doctrine. He would have said to himself: Luther regards the disputed doctrine of the Lord's Supper as an open question. He is not quite sure that his opinion is the only correct one, and grants my opinion the right of existence. Thus Luther would have given offense to him. Instead of saving him from the error of his way, he would have strengthened and confirmed him therein.[18])

The charge, then, that Luther rejected Zwingli's hand of fraternal fellowship because he lacked love is false and unfounded in every point and particular. All the evidence shows that he was truly charitable, and that charity was one of the chief motives that prompted him to deny Zwingli's request. Had he done otherwise, the charge of uncharitableness would indeed be in place. But in the light of Scripture and history this accusation is clearly an ignorant or an infamous calumny.

Luther's refusal of Zwingli's hand did not proceed from want of charity. Neither was it the result of *contentiousness*. Strange as the statement may seem — the great Reformer, whose life was a conflict, was ever averse to strife. His soul ever yearned for peace and quietness. He always engaged reluctantly in disputation. "They err greatly," says Carlyle, "who imagine that this man's courage was ferocity, mere coarse disobedient obstinacy and savagery, as many do. Far from that. . . . No accusation could be more unjust than this of mere ferocious violence brought against him. A most gentle heart withal, full of pity and love, as the truly valiant heart ever is."[19]) His experience was that of the Psalmist, who says: "I am for peace: but when I speak, they are for war," and that of the Prince of peace whose ministry was a series of conflicts with error and errorists.

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18) De Wette IV, 29; St. L. Ed. XVI, 2306; XVII, 1946. 1965. 1971; III, 1770.

19) *Heroes, and Hero-worship*, p. 164.

The statement that Luther was not fond of contention, but rather longed for peace, is borne out by a mass of incontrovertible evidence. We have already shown that he waited more than a year before he entered the literary conflict on the Lord's Supper. Does that spell love of strife and dispute? When he was finally compelled to take up his pen, he did so with regret. He would much rather have employed his time in other and better work, such as translating the Bible. "I would fain have peace, if it were possible, and issue the Prophets."[20] When Bucer and Capito, who had adopted the Zwinglian view, sent a messenger to him, urging him not to enter the conflict, he answered: *"Nothing do we desire more than peace,* which we have hitherto taught and carefully kept with all, as much as lay in us, their own conscience being witness that we were not the first to begin this tragedy, but were forced to reply. But to keep silent forever is not in our power [*non est integrum*], since they (I mean Zwingli and Oecolampadius) have by their published writings agitated the minds, unless they wish that we abstain from the ministry of the Word and the care of souls. It is intolerable to keep silent while they speak, and to give way to those who trouble our Church."[21] As a minister of the Word he felt himself in duty bound to confess his faith, to strengthen the weak and simple, and to preserve them from Zwingli's pernicious error. But before he entered the conflict, he requested his friends to pray for him that Christ would guide his pen to His glory. At the same time he deeply deplored the dispute and dissension, which he called a "tragedy," an "unhappy quarrel and schism" which "wrought great harm," inasmuch as it strengthened the Papists and proved a serious impediment to the progress of the Gospel.[22]

That Luther was not actuated by contentiousness is shown also by the friendly spirit which he manifested at Marburg, as shown above. Brenz, who attended the meeting, wrote to a

20) St. L. Ed. XX, 846.
21) De Wette III, 43; St. L. Ed. XVII, 1534.
22) De Wette IV, 559; St. L. Ed. VI, 624—630; XII, 896 sq.

friend: "With the exception of a few sallies, all was transacted in the most courteous manner and with the greatest gentleness. Only Oecolampadius, whom we had all expected to be milder, appeared at times to be somewhat irritated [*paulo morosior*], yet without contumely; Zwingli excused his harsh language with his Swiss nature. No other address was heard than 'dearest Sir, your charity,' and the like. It might have been said that Luther and Zwingli were brothers and not adversaries."[23] Although Luther was not able to accept Zwingli's hand of brotherhood, he did give him *the hand of peace*. "We gave them the hand of peace and love, that meanwhile the harsh words and writings should rest, and each teach his opinion without invective." After his return to Wittenberg he said from the pulpit: "The affair is in such a state as to afford fair hope. I do not say that there is a fraternal union, but a friendly concord."[24] These facts should prove to any unprejudiced person that Luther's rejection of Zwingli's hand was not influenced by contentiousness.

Neither did his refusal mean that he had no heart for true Christian fellowship. On the contrary, he deeply deplored the existing dissension and earnestly longed and prayed and worked for true union and fellowship, not only now and then, but at all times. Says Bayne: "When any who desire his

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23) D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation*, p. 462; Guericke, *Kirchengeschichte*, 7. Ed., III, 169.

24) St. L. Ed. III, 1770. — Zwingli, "whose heart was large and fraternal," who exhibited such easy control over his lachrymal glands, soon laid aside the mild tone which he had assumed at Marburg, and began to boast of his "victory" over Luther to whom he applied such soft epithets as "impudens" and "contumax," saying: "If ever any one has been defeated, then the impudent and obstinate Luther was defeated before all the world." D'Aubigné, 467. In his *Ratio Fidei* he referred to the Lutherans as people, "qui adollas Aegyptiacas respectant" = who look back to the flesh-pots of Egypt. This was written a few months after the meeting at Marburg and by the same man who had grasped Luther's hand in token that "the harsh words and writings should rest." Thereby he proved that his humility and friendliness, his silent tears, and his offer of fraternal fellowship were all feigned. De Wette IV, 29; St. L. Ed. XVI, 2306.

friendship avow that, for them, the eating of Christ's flesh in the Supper means only spiritual eating, he tells them with candid sharpness that he can have no fellowship with them. His tone is not acrimonious. It is rather that of affectionate sadness. But it is decisive. . . . It cost him more effort to be coldly steadfast against those who took the spiritual view of the sacrament than to stand firm against the Pope. . . . The distress occasioned him by severance from those with whom he had first undertaken the enterprise of reform was heart-breaking." [25] In a hymn which he wrote during the sacramentarian controversy (1525), he pours out his ardent desire for true union in these words:

> Thou sweetest Love, grace on us bestow,
> Set our hearts with heavenly fire aglow,
> That with hearts united we love each other,
> Of one mind, in peace with every brother.

Is that the language of a man who loves strife and dissension?

In the closing paragraph of the Marburg Articles he says: "But although *at present* we are not agreed on the question whether the true body and blood of Christ are bodily present in the bread and wine, still each party shall show to the other Christian love, so far as each one's conscience may permit, and *both parties shall earnestly implore Almighty God that He would confirm us by His Spirit in the true understanding. Amen.*"

In a letter to Amsdorf (October 27, 1529) he says: "I am glad, my dear Amsdorf, that you are so glad about our Marburg Synod, diminutive indeed in appearance, but in point of fact efficacious." [26]

To the Strassburg jurist Nic. Gerbel he wrote (October 4, 1529): "Love and peace we owe also to our enemies. We gave them to understand, of course, that, if they would not change their opinion concerning this article also, they may indeed enjoy our love, but that they cannot be accounted by us as brethren

25) Bayne, *Martin Luther*, II, 460 sqq.
26) De Wette III, 518; St. L. Ed. XXI a, 1371 sq.

and members of Christ. You will judge what fruit is come of this. To me it certainly appears that not a very small part of the offense is taken away where the contention of writing and disputing is publicly removed; indeed, we had not expected that we would accomplish so much. *Oh, that also that one remaining impediment* [scrupulus] *be finally removed by Christ! Amen.*" [27])

January 22, 1531, he wrote to Martin Bucer: "I want you to believe me, as I told you also at Coburg, that I wish this dissension of ours settled, even though my life had to be sacrificed three times over on account of it, because I saw how necessary your fellowship is to us, how much harm [the dissension] has done and still does to the Gospel, so that I am certain that all the gates of hell, the whole Papacy, the whole Turk, the whole world, the whole flesh, and all evils whatsoever, could not have done so much harm to the Gospel, if we were united. But what shall I do in a matter which cannot possibly be done? You will, therefore, not ascribe it to obstinacy, if you wish to do right, but to my conscience and to the urgency of my faith, that I decline this union. I had magnificent hopes after our Coburg Colloquy, but so far that hope is not established. May the Lord Jesus enlighten us, and perfectly unite us, — this is the burden of my prayer, this is the burden of my supplication, this is the burden of my sighs," *hoc oro, hoc ploro, hoc gemo.*[28])

A few days later, February 1, 1531, he wrote the following to Duke Ernest of Lueneburg: "Your Princely Grace shall believe that next to Christ, my Lord, I desire nothing more earnestly than that these people were thoroughly united with us; no death could be too bitter for me which I should not be willing to suffer to bring this about." [29])

When the Landgrave of Hesse made another attempt to unite the Lutherans and Zwinglians, Luther wrote (December 17, 1534): "For God is my witness, that, if it were pos-

27) De Wette III, 511 sq.; St. L. Ed. XVII, 1953.
28) De Wette IV, 217; St. L. Ed. XVII, 1975.
29) De Wette IV, 220; St. L. Ed. XVII, 2003.

sible, I would remove this dissension at the price of my body and blood, even if I had more than one body."[30]

His Commentary on Galatians, which appeared in 1535, contains the following paragraph, which shows both his earnest longing for union and the condition of union: "They falsely accuse us of breaking charity, to the great hurt and damage of the Church. But we protest that *we desire nothing more than to be at peace and unity with all,* and to exercise charity toward them, provided they leave unto us the doctrine of faith entire und uncorrupt; to the which all things must give place, be it charity, an apostle, or an angel from heaven."

When he heard that the churches at Augsburg were inclined to come to an agreement with the Wittenbergers, he expressed his unbounded joy in the following letter to the Augsburg pastors (July 20, 1535): "For in this whole course of our Gospel I have met with nothing that has given me more pleasure than, after this unhappy dissension, finally to look forward to, yea, to see a sincere union between us. . . . Therefore I pray you for Christ's sake, who has begun this work of His in you, that you would continue and persevere in this fruit of the Spirit, and embrace us with arms and hearts of pure love, even as we embrace and receive you into the bosom of sincere faith and unity. And be firmly persuaded in Christ that nothing can be imposed upon us by you which, for the confirmation of this union, we should not also be glad to do and to suffer, and, if it be necessary, everything. For after this union is confirmed, I shall with tears of joy sweetly sing: Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for I shall leave after me peace for the churches, that is, the glory of God, the punishment of the devil, and vengeance on all enemies and adversaries. May Christ govern you and perfect you in this mind, that my joy may be fulfilled, and that after so many crosses and hells I may at least have a happy hour to depart this life. Amen."[31]

30) De Wette IV, 572; St. L. Ed. XVII, 2051.

31) De Wette IV, 613 sq.; St. L. Ed. XVII, 2070. See also XVII, 2074. 2077 sqq. 2082. 2119. 2143. 2161; XXI b, 2012.

This mass of documentary evidence sufficiently shows that it must have cost him more effort to say "no" at Marburg than at Worms. At Worms he had to contend with the temptation of fear. But his heroic faith triumphed over this temptation with ease. At Marburg, however, he was under the powerful pressure of other and more perilous circumstances: The Landgrave was urging him with might and main to acknowledge the Zwinglians as brothers; Zwingli was begging for brotherhood with tears in his eyes; his own heart was aching because of the disastrous disruption in the ranks of the Protestants; his soul was burning with desire for union and fraternal fellowship. And yet he declined Zwingli's hand. His reasons for doing so under such circumstances must have been good and strong indeed.

One of these motives has already been dwelt upon. It was charity. But love was not the only incentive. When he rejected Zwingli's hand, he said: *"Ihr habt einen andern Geist als wir,"* You have a different spirit from ours. What is the meaning of these celebrated words? The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (IX. ed., vol. 15, p. 83) says: "He refused Zwingli's hand. 'You have another spirit from us,' he said, meaning that there was no objective basis of faith between them owing to what he thought to be Zwingli's rationalism." Zwingli's rationalism did not exist merely in Luther's thoughts. It had a real, palpable existence in fact. Zwingli did not treat Scripture as the only source and norm of faith, but in a number of doctrines followed his reason. It is possible that he was not conscious of following the dictates of Dame Reason; but this does not alter the fact of his having been a rationalist. Even d'Aubigné says: "If Luther had yielded, it might have been feared that the Church would fall into the extreme of Rationalism."[32] Zwingli's rationalistic spirit manifested itself very plainly in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He was not able to deny that the exceedingly simple and transparent words of institution, if taken in their literal sense, teach the real presence

32) *History of the Ref.*, p. 465.

of Christ's true body and blood in the eucharist. But to his mind this doctrine appeared impossible, incredible, and altogether out of harmony with other doctrines, such as the doctrines of the person of Christ and His ascension. His main argument against the real presence ran thus: Christ has a real human body, and as regards this real human body, He ascended into heaven. Now, a real human body cannot be in several places at once. Therefore the real human body of Christ cannot be in the sacrament. Hence the words of institution must be explained figuratively. But this is not explaining Scripture by Scripture or according to the analogy of faith, but according to the philosophical principle: A real human body cannot be in several places at once. "Dies Argument ist nicht aus der Schrift, sondern ist Vernunft."[33] His rationalistic spirit cropped out very plainly when he replied to Luther at Marburg that "God does not propose incomprehensible things to us."[34] It was, therefore, merely a happy inconsistency that he did not deny the whole body of incomprehensible doctrines. If it had not been for Luther's unwavering steadfastness, it is probable that Zwingli would have fallen into this extreme of rationalism. This spirit of rationalism, which led him to reject the real presence, and his persistent adherence to his sacramentarian error, prevented the much desired union at Marburg. Zwingli tried hard to make it appear as if they were united, in order that Luther might recognize him as a brother. But Luther replied again and again: "You have a different spirit from ours." He meant to say: You are trying to make it appear as if your party and ours were at one in doctrine and faith. But this is not true. Your spirit, your doctrine and faith does *not* agree with our doctrine and faith. We accept the words of institution in simple faith, but you criticise and rail at this faith. It is evident, therefore, that you have a different doctrine and faith; and this being the case, I cannot accept your hand of fraternal fellowship. "They promised

33) De Wette III, 510; St. L. Ed. XXI a, 1365.

34) St. L. Ed. XVII, 1944. 1948.

with many words, they would go so far as to say with us: Christ's body is truly present in the Supper, but in a spiritual manner, in order that we might deign to call them brethren, and thus to simulate unity. It was this which Zwingli, publicly weeping in the presence of the Landgrave and all, requested, saying about as follows: 'Es sind keine Leut auf Erden, mit denen ich lieber wollt eins sein, denn mit den Wittenbergern.' With the greatest diligence and effort they were at work on making it appear that they agreed with us, so that they could never bear to hear me say: You have a different spirit from ours. They were inflamed altogether as often as they heard these words. Finally we conceded this, that while they are indeed not brethren, they nevertheless should not be deprived of our love, which is due even to an enemy. Thus they were greatly displeased, because they could not obtain the name of brother, but were compelled to depart as heretics."[35]

Zwingli was a heretic. He held and defended a false doctrine in spite of repeated admonitions. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper concerning which he taught falsely is not an unessential doctrine. It forms one of the chief parts of every catechism. Nor is it a theological problem, an open question. God has clearly revealed it in plain passages of Holy Writ. Neither did Zwingli err in ignorance and weakness (XXIII, 303). Had such been the case, Luther would certainly have dealt with him differently.[36] He had been "rebuked" and "admonished" during the space of five years. But despite all these efforts to win him, he obstinately maintained his peculiar view of the sacrament, and expected Luther to yield. Thus he made it impossible for Luther to join in fraternal fellowship with him. For God has plainly, expressly, and strictly prohibited fellowship with such as obstinately persist in denying clear doctrines of Scriptures. Our Lord says: "Beware of false prophets!" His holy Apostle writes: "A man

35) Luther's letter to Jacob Probst, June 1, 1530: De Wette IV, 28 sq.; St. L. Ed. XVI, 2305 sq.

36) St. L. Ed. XVII, 1964 sq.

that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject." And again: "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and *avoid them.*" St. John, the Apostle of love, writes: "He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." These plain passages are a wall of separation erected between us and false teachers. Our duty toward false teachers, therefore, is not to unite with them, but to avoid them. To cultivate religious fellowship with them is not a virtue, but a vice. As long as God does not command us to tear these passages out of the Book, we cannot join in fraternal fellowship with false teachers.

To these and similar passages Luther appeals in his writings as a warrant for his refusal to fellowship the sacramentarians.[37] So long as Zwingli refused to relinquish his error, Luther could not grant his request without sinning against God and his conscience. Said he to Bucer at Marburg: "We declare to you once more that our conscience opposes our receiving you as brethren."[38] To John Agricola he wrote: "Finally they asked that we should at least acknowledge them as brethren, and this the Prince urged strongly, but it *could not* be conceded to them." To his congregation he said in his report of the Marburg meeting: "Brotherhood they requested of us, this we refused them for the present and *could not* make promise thereof. For if we received them as brothers and sisters, we should have to acquiesce in their doctrine."[39]

The last quotation points to still another reason why Luther refused to fellowship the Zwinglians. Such fellowship would have meant that he acquiesced in their false doctrine.

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37) De Wette IV, 25. 351 sq.; St. L. Ed. VII, 598; XVII, 1962 sq.; XX, 1682, *et al.*

38) D'Aubigné, p. 463.

39) St. L. Ed. III, 1770.

By such tacit approval he would have become *particeps criminis*. God would have pronounced him a partner of false teachers and a sharer in all those fearful blasphemies which Zwingli and his friends had uttered about the "baked god" of the Lutherans. "Therefore they knew that we could not be flesh-devourers, blood-drinkers, Thyestes, Capernaites, nor localists, and our God no baked god, wine-god, etc. Now, how should and could I take on my poor conscience such coarse [ungeschwungene] blasphemy of the impenitent enthusiasts and blasphemers.... St. John says 2 John 10: 'If there come any, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: *for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.*'"[40] Again he says: "So Christ wishes to say [Matt. 7, 6]: When you see that they despise your preaching and trample it under foot, then you shall have no fellowship with them and go out from among them, as He says also Matt. 18: 'He that neglects to hear thee and the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.' . . . This I and all that preach in good earnest do, *lest we become partakers of their sin*. For it is not God's will that we should so play the hypocrite with our sectarians as if their doctrine were true."[41]

Observe that Luther calls fellowship with false teachers *hypocrisy*. That is the proper name for such fellowship. External union between such as are not agreed in doctrine and faith is essentially dissimulation. If people who inwardly disagree outwardly act as if they agree, they sham and dissemble. That such feigning is grossly immoral is evident even to a non-Christian. Yet Zwingli endeavored to draw Luther into such a counterfeit union. "They conducted themselves toward us with incredible humility and friendliness; but, as it now appears, all was feigned, that they might draw us into a counterfeit union and make us partakers and patrons of their error."[42] But Luther was a stranger to such sham and hypocrisy. While

40) St. L. Ed. XX, 1769 sq. 41) St. L. Ed. VII, 598.
42) De Wette IV, 29; St. L. Ed. XVI, 2306.

the advocates of outward union amid inward disunion extol peace and charity as the noblest possessions and denounce Luther's "intolerance, contentiousness, and uncharitable obstinacy" as an unpardonable crime, Luther knew a higher and more precious possession — Truth and Honesty. Said he: "If I must have a fault, I would rather speak too harsh and burst out with the truth too unreasonably, than ever dissemble and hold back with the truth." [43] He was, as his name signifies, "lauter," that is, sincere, candid, free from hypocrisy.[44] "He was always utterly honest and outspoken," says Geo. P. Fisher.[45] "He was in the deepest depth of his soul a believer in truth. His whole soul was steeped in reality. His eye was single, and his whole body was full of light." [46] The union he longed for was not a painted, counterfeit union, but a candid and sincere union ("candida et sincera concordia"), an agreement in doctrine and faith. "The Word and doctrine must effect Christian unity or fellowship; where it is alike and agrees, the rest will follow; where it is not, no unity will remain anyway." [47] That is the only union permitted by God. St. Paul says: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all *speak the same thing,* and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be *perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment,*" 1 Cor. 1, 10. To bring about such union he was willing to do everything, to suffer everything, yea, to die. But with union grounded on falsehood, and ordering him to speak and act lies, he could not and would not have anything to do. That he prevented such false and feigned union,

43) De Wette II, 306; St. L. Ed. XX a, 481.

44) The name was originally written Luder, Lüder, and Leuder. Luter was the middle high German of the modern lauter.

45) *The Reformation,* p. 151.

46) James Freeman Clarke in *Events and Epochs in Rel. History,* p. 256. — To Bucer and Wolfhardt he wrote, February 29, 1532: "Ego sum homo candidus, nihil minus possum, quam simulare et dissimulare: sed quidquid dico in hac summa eucharistica causa, ex corde dico." De Wette IV, 344.

47) St. L. Ed. IX, 831.

we readily admit, and thank God who gave him strength to oppose and prevent it. For had he yielded, the Church would soon have fallen "into the extreme of Rationalism." Such unwavering opposition, however, and unflinching firmness should not be called "obstinacy," unless obstinacy means firmness in holding out against persuasion to evil. If that be the meaning attached to the word by his critics, then Joseph was obstinate when he said to Potiphar's wife: "How, then, can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" Then all the prophets and apostles and confessors of the truth were obstinate; yea, then Christ Himself was obstinate; for His attitude toward error and errorists was one of implacable opposition. —

God grant us more of such sanctified stubbornness! We need it. For in these days of indifferentism and unionism we are sorely tempted to enter into fellowship with teachers of error. Union is the idol of our age; and all who refuse to worship this idol are cast into the fiery furnace of slander. When the representatives of the Synodical Conference at Detroit refused to cultivate fellowship with the Ohioans and Iowaans, our opponents raised a hue and cry against us. Their pulpits and periodicals rang with the charge of uncharitableness, bigotry, intolerance, and the like. Such bitter charges naturally chagrin us, for we, too, have flesh and blood. But our greatest grief is that our opponents make it impossible for us to fellowship them. We would fain regard and embrace them as brethren if it were possible. We know, alas! how this dissension is impeding the progress of our dear old Lutheran Church. But what can we do? Here is the divine command: "Avoid them!" We cannot evade this divine command without violating our conscience. Taking our stand on this and similar Scriptures, we say to our opponents with a clear conscience: We cannot cultivate brotherly fellowship with you, for "you have a different spirit from ours."

St. Louis, Mo. C. F. Drewes.

1 COR. 2, 6—10.

(Opening Sermon preached at the Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference, at Chicago, Ill., August 15, 1906.)

According to a custom long established among our churches we have gathered here as representatives of the Lutheran synods which are united in the Synodical Conference of North America. In view of the unceasing attempts of the arch-fiend and his aids among men, to disrupt our union, it is a very miracle of God that we have not failed to demonstrate the unity of spirit existing among us, by our biennial meetings. As we are gathered here to-day, we know with certain assurance that we truly represent the orthodox Church of America, the Church of the true faith. — But it is not for this purpose of representation alone that we have assembled. It behooves us to do whatever lies in our power here to strengthen and preserve the bond of unity which exists between us by the grace of God. This duty determines the line of thought to be followed in this opening service. Let us give careful attention to the words of the Holy Spirit which are presented to us in our text, which exhibits

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH, AS A SPEAKER OF GOD'S WISDOM.

1. The Church recognizes it as her only duty to preach the wisdom of God.

"We speak," says Paul in our text, describing his own work and that of his fellow-apostles. Theirs was the duty, enjoined upon them by Christ Himself, to speak, to preach that which had been entrusted to them, and our entire text properly refers to the manner in which the apostles carried out their instructions. Yet we may with good reason appropriate the words to ourselves, as representatives of the Church of the true faith. For the mission entrusted to the apostles by the clear words of the Lord has descended from them to the whole Church, the communion of saints. Hers is now the duty to speak, to preach what Christ has entrusted to His disciples.

"We speak . . . not the wisdom of the world." There is wisdom of the world which is not without value to man. The

knowledge of God's creation benefits him in many ways. By seeking after it, he acquires mastery over nature, incomplete, to be sure, but sufficient to increase his enjoyment of life on earth. And if his eyes be open to see what may be seen, he will find peculiar pleasure in following the footsteps of the Creator, in order to praise His wisdom and power as revealed in the works of His hands. But valuable as the wisdom of the world may be in a way, the Church recognizes that this wisdom must not be the burden of her preaching. "We speak . . . not the wisdom of the world;" though we acknowledge its value, such as it is, we leave it to others to proclaim it.

Much less do we speak "the wisdom . . . of the princes of the world, that come to naught." Among those who seek the wisdom of the world there are some who rise above the general level and by virtue of skill and mental power acquire the dignity of princes in the realm of thought. They are the true rulers of the world, since they assume the leadership among their fellow-men, proclaiming with authority what shall be called science among men. Pondering over the problems of the universe, which the sons of men have wrestled with for ages, they have built up most wonderful systems of thought, rarely agreeing in any vital point, but always insisting that theirs is the true wisdom. But, as Paul says, they come to naught; their work is done in vain. Modern systems of philosophy rest upon the ruins of those which went before, and will come to ruin in their turn. Therefore the Church will have none of this wisdom of the rulers of the world; it is not her mission to be a preacher of vain and passing thoughts.

"We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory." Note how carefully Paul distinguishes this wisdom from the wisdom of the world. In a way, the wisdom of the world, the knowledge of created things, is also wisdom of God, because that which may be known of God is manifest in them (Rom. 1, 19); and it likewise is wisdom of God in a mystery, since even the simplest processes of life will forever

baffle all attempts at satisfactory explanation. But here we have a wisdom which is not merely a mystery, but a *hidden* wisdom. Our senses, by means of which we may gather some knowledge of the world, are unable to penetrate the concealment in which the true wisdom of God lies hidden. The most profound thought of man has not even touched upon its outer boundary line. This wisdom, moreover, was foreordained by God before the world unto our glory. It sets forth the most loving and merciful thoughts which arose in God's heart, as it were, before the foundations of the world were laid — thoughts which had as their final purpose the salvation of sinful man.

Though Paul says no more than this about the hidden wisdom of God, yet his words at once call to our mind what Christ said to His disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God," Luke 8, 10. And Paul himself, in a later epistle, speaks thus: "Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was made manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory," 1 Tim. 3, 16. To be brief, "the wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom of God," is no other than the wisdom of the blessed Gospel that "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life," John 3, 16.

That is the wisdom of God which the Church preaches. To proclaim this gracious mystery is known by her to be her only mission. She hears her call in the words of the prophet, "O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God!" Is. 40, 9. She responds to the command of her Lord who says unto her, "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," Matt. 28, 19. 20.

In pursuance of this mission,

2. The Church draws the hidden wisdom of God from the only true source, and thus becomes the only true speaker of this wisdom.

Speaking of the hidden wisdom of God, Paul goes on to say: "Which none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." Thus it had happened: when the Lord of glory descended upon this sinful world and became man among men, the princes of this world would have none of Him. They refused to hear His words, and when forced to take sides, they spurned Him whom their fathers had desired. It was not enough for them to put those out of the synagogue who did confess that Jesus was the Christ; they condemned the Lord of glory and rested not until He had died the death of a felon. And thus it has been ever since. The princes of this world, the rulers of the thoughts of men, have refused to do homage to the Savior of sinners. In the pride of their hearts they spurn the Son of Man and persecute Him in His disciples. Their hatred betrays their utter lack of knowledge of the hidden wisdom of God. They are blind leaders of the blind, and the Church, seeing their ignorance, scorns their alleged wisdom in her turn and calls it, not a source of the wisdom of God, but a fountain of iniquity.

Hence the Church knows full well that the true wisdom of God may be drawn from no human source. Paul emphasizes this fact by adding, "As it is written: Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." Our senses in themselves, as seeing and hearing, furnish no clue to the hidden mystery of God, because it is not revealed in nature. Our deepest thoughts can never reach the depths of God's mercy and loving kindness. Knowing this, the Church seeks no part of the wisdom of God in human knowledge, nor in the movements of her own heart and mind. The source of her wisdom is infinitely higher.

"God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit," says Paul, and here we cannot at once make his words our own. Still

speaking of himself and his fellow-apostles, he declares that their knowledge of the hidden wisdom of God was given to them immediately by God's own Spirit. For in the apostles Christ fulfilled to the letter what He had promised, saying, "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth," John 16, 13. Having chosen them to be teachers of the world, He fitted them out for their work by special gifts of the Spirit, so that they never failed to speak the true wisdom of God. And what the Spirit revealed to the apostles, they recorded in their writings, "in words which the Holy Ghost taught them," 1 Cor. 2, 13. Thus their writings are, for us, the revelation of the hidden wisdom of God. This, therefore, is the source from which the Church draws all her knowledge, the only possible source of Gospel truth. In childlike faith, but unswervingly, the Church stands squarely upon the written Word of God, and scorns all aid of human philosophy when she draws from this pure fountain the hidden wisdom of God. She will not even permit her own reason to harmonize the teachings of Holy Writ, even though they appear to be in contradiction to one another, but accepts them as they are written, with full trust in the guidance of the Spirit of God.

For that reason, the orthodox Church is the only true speaker of the divine wisdom. An ancient saying of theologians declares that "there is no salvation outside of the Church." This is undeniable. The Church alone draws the hidden wisdom of God from its true fountain, the Word of God. This being the wisdom foreordained by God unto our glory, the wisdom which carries with it life and salvation, it needs must follow that salvation cannot be found except in the Church.

May the Lord Jesus so guide us in our present deliberations here and in our future work that the unity of the Spirit may be preserved among us in the bond of peace. May He preserve us mercifully from all disagreement in doctrine, in order that we may ever be divinely sure that we, the church bodies united in the Synodical Conference, are the Church which is the true speaker of the hidden wisdom of God. Amen.

New Ulm, Minn. J. SCHALLER.

THE OLD LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF FREE-WILL IN THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

During the year 1905 Prof. Richard of the General Synod published, in the *Lutheran Quarterly,* a series of articles proposing to establish his claim, that some kind of synergism was the old Lutheran doctrine which by the Form of Concord was suppressed and a new doctrine of free-will put in its place at the behest of the Flacianists. These articles followed in the wake of an attack of Prof. Richard on Prof. Pieper's published address at the Free Conference at Watertown, Wis., entitled, "The fundamental difference in the doctrine of conversion and election," which was successfully met by Prof. Pieper himself in *Lehre und Wehre.* Prof. Richard seems to have keenly felt the cutting blows of his antagonist and has read up Reformation literature to a great extent to bolster up his badly shaken theory. Since nothing has been written on our side, he may, at this time, imagine, that he has won the case by his many authorities whom he cites in defense, but which he manages in the same way as will be shown he does the Augsburg Confession. Hence the present article.

We have not space to follow Dr. Richard through the whole series and will at present but endeavor to shed some light from Scripture and common sense on Prof. Richard's arguments, as presented in the April number, 1905, of the *Lutheran Quarterly,* on what is covered by the above caption. There he strains every nerve to down the truly convincing logic of Prof. Pieper by citing *some* historical facts, by an array of quotations from Reformation authors, who might suit his theory, and by arranging so-called dilemmas. We need not do like Prof. Richard who wisely refrains from placing the arguments of his opponent before his readers that *they* might judge of the tenability of his position, but covers his logical failings by prejudicing them against the Missourians, as "detractors" of such great men as Thomasius, Frank, Luthardt, Dieckhoff, Cremer. We will tell, of course as briefly as possible, all he has to tell, and then

point out where his arguments fall short in spite of his verbally accurate quotations.

In the first instance, let us form the state of controversy, because it is right here where Dr. Richard sadly betrays his untheological mind. With us, whom he is going to convince, the question is: Has *the Lutheran Church as such* started with and stuck to the teaching that natural man has free-will in spiritual things? — in other words: Did the Lutheran Church of the years 1530 to 1560 *confess* that man does cooperate (*συνεργεῖ*) with God to his salvation (beginning in conversion)? The affirmation of this question is, from the whole scope of his article, the burden of his argumentation. But as this would be somewhat too great a task, he comes down to the assertion: "or rather the doctrine of free-will that *prevailed* in the Lutheran Church from A. D. 1530 to the death of Melanchthon in A. D. 1560." We must needs ask: If Prof. Richard was going to show only the *prevailing* doctrine *in* the Lutheran Church, why did he not extend the time for a much longer period, even up to the present? Orthodoxism, pietism, vulgar and scientific rationalism might furnish him with the most fearful array of "historico-thetical" weapons for his contention of the prevalence of his type of Lutheranism, which "is not a mathematical quantity, nor a fixed point, but a *system* of doctrines having some freedom of motion within certain metes and bounds." Why does he, then, exclude the writings of Ammon or Wegscheider, whose systems *prevailed in* the Lutheran Church to which they had subscribed, when "Lutheranism has some freedom of motion within certain metes and bounds"? They agreed that man has free-will and would give the most brilliant arguments, that their doctrine prevailed. But probably thinking "in limitation the master shows himself," he is content to answer the question by proving that it prevailed between 1530 and 1560. But this reasoning cannot satisfy a logical mind. Does it follow that when one part — even the largest — is congruent to something, the whole is congruent? Not in logical thinking. The *required* parts must be congruent. In answering the question in hand

one of the required parts of congruency is: whether or not the Confession of the Church at that time up to the present bear out the contention. — Now we admit — though by far not to the extent Prof. Richard desires — that some teachers *in* the Lutheran Church, especially after the death of Luther in 1546, held, that natural man has free-will in spiritual things. They were the Melanchthonians and Crypto-Calvinists. They wrote much in behalf of free-will, made confessions, and tried hard to obtrude them on the Lutheran Church. But are they to be accepted as unimpeachable witnesses for the sense of the Confession, even though their master wrote it? Is there excluded all possibility that they used dubious words in their private writings and yet for a while the Church connected the true sense with them, while they did not? Or, on the contrary, — and this is oftener the case, — may not those teachers subsequently have connected a different sense with their own words in the Confession as in most cases false teachers do until they are left by the Church to shift for themselves? May it not also happen that a teacher of the Church, entertaining different views in his private writings, when occasion arises to confess the faith of the Church, leaves all his notions behind and sticks to the truth? All these possibilities are overlooked by Dr. Richard, and he takes it for granted that "the confessions must be interpreted by the private writings" of their adherents. But we at least take exception to this "universally recognized principle." We hold it to be the bulwark of Romanism, when tradition is to determine the sense of the Scriptures and private writings the sense of the creeds of the Church. We prove the Confession by the Scripture and interpret it accordingly. We hold "the fathers" as good witnesses only in so far as they agree with the Church. What Protestant would think of enlightening the faith of the first Church by the writings of the early fathers, or the Catholic creeds by the writings of Origen, Rufinus, and Jerome! The fact is, Dr. Richard has slyly put a perverted "principle of interpretation" in place of the true rule, which is, that the meaning of words and phrases of a document must be interpreted

by the usage of such words and phrases by contemporaneous writers, which is quite a different thing.

And does not history bear out our refusal of Dr. Richard's authorities as witnesses? Were they not the engenderers of strife in the Church? Did they not try underhand methods and machinations at the courts of the princes? Were they not those that were foisting new confessions on parts of the Church and trying to introduce their ideas in the Augsburg Confession by changing its articles? Where did the necessity arise of doing so when their doctrines were prevailing? Further, how was it possible that their doctrine did not prevail after all, if it was a divine doctrine? Ought not such as held it to be divinely taught have left a Church that went — as Prof. Richard maintains — within six months so far from the truth as to set up the Form of Concord just to condemn free-will? In remaining and claiming the Lutheran name by endorsing this new symbol they can be considered only in two ways, either as repenting their errors or as hypocrites subscribing what they did not believe. But in both cases their prior writings cannot be claimed as true witnesses to the Confession of the Church.

This kind of proof is buckled up by the hackneyed theory that Luther and Melanchthon underwent a great change in regard to their "deterministic views" since 1527. "It is now as different from the teaching on the same subject found in Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* and in the first edition of the *Loci* as the light of the sun is different from the light of the moon.... Melanchthon no longer affirms that 'all things occur necessarily according to the divine predestination, and that there is no freedom of our will.' On the contrary, he now affirms that 'God has given man *reason* and *choice*' and that 'we *choose*, we act.'"

This theory — not invented by Dr. Richard — just suits his case as he seems to have a liking for such perversion of history, of which we will show some samples later on. We maintain that it is only a theory made to cover the difficulty of a so-called Lutheran finding himself opposed to Luther's denial of free-will and the vacillation of Melanchthon between

his Confession with the Church, on one hand, and his determinism in his earlier life and his philosophic explanation of conversion, on the other. Luther and Melanchthon are thrown together either to cover Melanchthon's failings, or to provide a cover for Melanchthonians to appear as real Lutherans. The facts are as follows. Of "deterministic views" Melanchthon bore the larger share. He taught them ex professo in his earliest edition of the *Loci* as his own. In Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* we find such views only cited as belonging to certain pagan philosophers, but not endorsed. Luther taught according to the Scriptures the hidden God and His mysteries past finding out, but he directed men to the revealed God and His Gospel. Confer quotations by Dr. Richard in the *Lutheran Quarterly,* April, 1903. Luther never eradicated any "deterministic views" from his writings, nor did he retract or "let them drop into the background," because he did not hold such views. In regard to the doctrine of free-will he underwent not the slightest change. He did not allow free-will in spiritual matters to man up to his last hour. We quote in corroboration a passage from his last work, the Commentary on his beloved Genesis, written in 1545: "But if we are no more *than men,* that is, if we do not hold to the Blessed Seed by faith, we are all like Cain. When our nature is left without the Holy Spirit, it is led by the evil spirit by which Cain was driven. If, now, there be in man so much ability or free-will as to restrain himself before the power of the devil, there ought to have been such gift in Cain, to whom primarily belonged the primogeniture and the promises of the Blessed Seed. But a like habituality there is with all of us. Whenever our nature is not assisted by the Spirit of God, it can not stand upright of itself. Why, then, do we boast so many vain things about free-will?" (Walch I, 502.)

And now we must be allowed to ask: "In what way do the changes of Melanchthon from Stoicism affect the scriptural truth of "no free-will in rebus divinis," confessed by the Church? We consider Melanchthon right in making that change in so far as he did not mix his new view with the question of conversion. That Melanchthon did *not* mix at this time (1527) is evident

from the passages quoted by Dr. Richard: "God moves trees in one way, cattle in another way, men in another way, according to the nature of each." "God imparts (natural) life and motion, while we *choose* and *act*. All beginning is from God." This is scriptural doctrine regarding God as the cause of all, and yet allowing for the contingencies arising out of reasonable beings created by Him. Melanchthon did wisely in conforming thereto instead of his original stoic notions. In his ***natural capacities*** man according to Scripture is not to be "compared to a block, or to a stone, or to a dead image." No true Lutheran held thus and the Form of Concord guards against such teaching in so many words. All the consequences and inferences of Dr. Richard in transferring these observations of Melanchthon to the spiritual sphere of man's life are gratuitous. It was not here where Melanchthon stumbled. That was later when he *sought* a reason why some are converted while others are not. He did not find it, neither does Dr. Richard. His explanation, according to above statements, makes man the *sole* operator of his salvation, whilst he intends man to be only *co*operator or synergist: even less, though a little. It seems to be a habit with Dr. Richard to demonstrate too much and therefore nothing, as we will show such demonstration to be in vogue in more places. From the premises of Dr. Richard it is evident that he will be unable to show that the doctrine of free-will has prevailed in the time which he set down, as the old Lutheran doctrine.

Dr. Richard uses the Augsburg Confession as a witness for the prevalence of his doctrine of free-will in the period in question. To accomplish his purpose he has to put it twice in a wrong position. For once he places it on a level with the Word of God. *He makes it the maker and constituent of the Church,* which is, according to the Scriptures, solely the Word of God. Its prerogatives he ascribes to the Confession. Afterwards he treats the Confession as a testimony of how the faith of the Church *was made up* — both times to the dishonor of the Confession (and the Church). This is the deep "psychology" of the subtle Philistine, of which he boasts so much in the January number, 1904. For one purpose the Confession is to

him the creator of the Church. Whoever subscribes to it belongs to the Church. This is rigid. But as soon as it is held up to him as the faith of the Church, he vehemently asserts: It's only a witness for what teaching was then in vogue. I am not bound by its words. It must be interpreted in accordance with the private writings of its time.

We are almost persuaded that Dr. Richard does so unconsciously in the present article, simply from a habit acquired in the General Synod, where the words and phrases of the Confession are similarly used in such a Pickwickian sense, and even the words of subscription. While they say with so many words, that they "hold the Augsburg Confession to be a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines *of the divine Word,*" a multitude of its professed adherents imagine "the underlying idea" is: the fundamental doctrines *of the Augsburg Confession* is what they are bound to — they to determine what those fundamental doctrines are. Dr. Richard can therefore not object if we try to arouse the subconsciousness of his deep psychology. Its mystery is the reason why "Lutheranism is not a mathematical quantity, nor a fixed point, but a *system of doctrines* having some freedom of motion within certain metes and bounds. And all must sooner or later come to realize that it is psychologically impossible to make all Lutherans think alike and hold alike on all doctrines embraced in the Lutheran System, as it is physically impossible to make all clocks tick alike and strike alike in marking the passing hours of the day." We admire Dr. Richard's good piece of oratory. But it is, aside from the contradictory qualities of "a system," which appears to us a veritable logical conundrum, sounding brass in the light of God's Truth: "That they all may be one, even as we (the Father and the Son) are one." If our Lord said that His Church *be one,* it is psychologically possible, all clocks to the contrary notwithstanding. For what we do not know — that sophism may apply to the Philistines within the promised land yet outside the promise, each fighting for *his* interpretation of *his* creed, the maker of *his* Church, but each agreeing with the other to differ.

(To be concluded.)

THE PROOF TEXTS OF THE CATECHISM WITH A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY.

Each article of the Creed opens with the statement of an important fact: *I believe.* We use this expression every day and connect various meanings with it. According as we utter it with more or less emphasis and solemnity, according as the matters to which we apply the expression differ, and according as we are conscious of a greater or less authority for the statement, we can make the phrase *I believe* express, now a mere thought that flits through the mind, now a vague expectation, now a conjecture, now a personal judgment, now conviction, now reliance. What does this expression mean, what are its contents as used in the Three Articles?

Rom. 10, 14: *How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?*

This question necessitates a negative answer: Believing without previous information is impossible. That which I believe must have been presented to me in such a manner that I was enabled to perceive its meaning and to understand its import. The Greek verb which denotes hearing in this place has the object in the genitive. Wilke says: "*ἀκούειν* cum genit. rei: vim et argumentum auditi percipere" ("To hear, when connected with an object denoting matter in the genitive, means to perceive the force and import of what one has heard").[1] To hear thus, means to note that something is actually so, that it has reality. When the high-priest at the trial of Jesus addressed his associates: "Ye have heard the blasphemy" (*τῆς βλασφημίας*), Mark 14, 64, he meant to say: You are aware of the blasphemous nature of His remark; you have heard and you perceive what the words imply. When Paul from the temple-stairs at Jerusalem appealed to his countrymen: "Hear ye my defense" (*τῆς ἀπολογίας*), Acts 22, 1, he asked permission to explain to them the situation in which he was placed, and to exhibit his innocence if they would only listen. The Lord

1) *Clavis*, sub voce.

describes the wise builder thus: "Whosoever cometh to me and heareth my sayings (*τῶν λόγων*) and doeth them." If the hearing of the Lord's teaching induced in the hearers action suited to what they heard, the words must have carried a certain unmistakable meaning with them.[2]

Faith, then, requires previous information and instruction by which *knowledge* of the subject-matter of faith is conveyed. The first impulse to believe comes to a person from without. Objects are presented to his perception, his attention is arrested, his intellect is set to work, and his judgment invited to pass on facts and truths communicated to him, and thus his mind and memory is stored with knowledge which he had not possessed previously. Hearing and believing are, therefore, Scripture correlatives: "Many of the Corinthians *hearing believed,*" Acts 18, 8. "God made choice among us" (*i. e.,* the apostles; and He did so with this appointment) "that the Gentiles by my mouth should *hear* the Gospel and *believe,*" Acts 15, 7. "Two disciples *heard* Him speak, and *followed* Jesus," John 1, 37. "Many more *believed because of* His own *word,* and said: Now we *believe,* not because of thy *saying:* for we have *heard* Himself and *know* that this is indeed the Christ, the Savior of the world," John 4, 41 f. This last passage, in particular, shows that knowing and believing are synonyms, and both result from hearing.[3]

God has supplied the means whence faith derives its knowledge.

Rom. 10, 17: *So, then, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.*

Luther's differs from this rendering: he substitutes for hearing *Predigt* and *Predigen,* just as in 1 Thess. 2, 13: *λόγου*

2) Compare, however, Matt. 7, 24, the parallel passage, which has the same object in the accusative. Hence, this rule regarding *ἀκούειν* with the genitive is not a hard and fast rule.

3) From the fact that faith is by hearing the Word of God preached the further truth can be evolved, that it is not of human origin. But that is a matter which must be discussed in connection with the Third Article.

ἀκοῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, "the Word of God *which ye heard of us*," "das Wort goettlicher *Predigt*," and in Gal. 3, 2: *ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως*, "by the *hearing* of faith," "durch die *Predigt* vom Glauben." In Hebr. 4, 2 both versions agree: *ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς*, "the word *preached*," "das Wort der *Predigt*." Wilke[4] distinguishes between the first and second *ἀκοή* in our text: the former he interprets "auditio cum fide conjuncta," hearing coupled with faith, and the latter, "quod auditur, vel auditum est," that which one hears, or has heard. Thus, *ἀκοή*, in the first place, would have subjective force, *the act of hearing*, in the second, objective force, *the matter heard*. Now, the apostle in this connection cites Is. 53, 1: "Who hath believed our report?" (*ἀκοή*), v. 16.[5] The Hebrew term is שְׁמוּעָה which the Septuagint renders *ἀγγελία* (also in 1 Sam. 4, 19), and the English version "report" (in 1 Sam. 4, 19, "tidings"). This is decisive for establishing the meaning of *ἀκοή* in the passage before us: it is objective, that which is proposed for hearing, the communication, the instruction, the sermon; Luther: *Predigt*. And there is no apparent reason why the meaning of the same word should be varied in the same verse. Faith cometh by that which is heard, *i. e.*, by preaching, and that which is heard, preaching, cometh by the Word of God. God by His Word creates faith. "The Lord gave the Word: great was the company of them that published it," Ps. 68, 11. "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!" — this very text is taken from the immediate context of our proof-passage. Faith, then, is from the Gospel, — this is what the passage substantiates. The Word of God, more particularly, the Gospel, informs man of what God wants him to know for his salvation; it enables man to *know* the things that make for his peace, and it bestows that knowledge, enlightening man's understanding by its inherent power.

The knowledge of faith extends to all that God has had to communicate. John 17, 3 states the chief doctrines, that of

4) *Clavis*, sub voce *ἀκοή*.

5) Comp. John 12, 38, where the same passage is cited.

the only true God, and that of the Savior and His work. But Rom. 10, 17 declares, by inference, that faith is from any word of God: for any word of God when preached can produce faith in the hearers. All communications of God to man are in the Holy Scriptures, the chief part of which is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. From this book faith obtains all its knowledge, and strives to know all that is in the Bible. Whatever is not Scripture cannot form the subject-matter of faith. We can believingly know only that which "cometh by the Word of God."

This knowledge is no small matter.

John 17, 3: *This is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.*

Believing knowledge is the way of life, the true road to heaven. Knowledge is such an important characteristic of faith that faith is here called simply knowledge. Knowing of this kind and believing are equivalents. Hence, John declares: "These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may *know* that ye have eternal life, and that ye may *believe* in the name of the Son of God," 1 John 5, 13. And in 1 John 2, 3 the statement: "We do know that we know Him" amounts to saying: We are aware that we believe in Him.

But faith is not knowledge only. It is not in the intellect alone; it is not of the head. Christ charges the Jews:

John 5, 46: *Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me.*

John 3, 36: *He that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

In both passages the Greek verbs for believe and not believe have the object in the dative, and that object is a person. There is an approach made from the believer to the person whom he believes: he recognizes the authority and benevolence of the person who speaks to him. Wilke (sub voce) interprets πιστεύειν, with the dative of a person, thus: "alicui aliquid narranti, asseveranti, docenti fidem habere," to give credence

to the narrative, claim, or teaching of some one, in a word, to believe a person's words. The believer coincides with the speaker, and declares his acquiescence in the speaker's statements. He is satisfied, not only that he has heard the truth, but that he likes the truth. He applauds it; he expresses, in some manner, his assent; he accepts what has been proposed to him. There is seen in such an act a more intimate and personal relation between the believer and the object of the believer's faith. The assenting believer not only perceives facts, but facts as they concern him, and perceives their relation to him with gladness. His heart is filled with joy and gratitude, while he declares: Yes, these things are so!

The assent of faith extends to all that Moses in the Old and Christ in the New Testament have published by God's direction. Moses (John 5, 46) and Christ (John 3, 36), by synecdoche, stand for the entire Scripture. The believer assents to just as much as he knows. He affixes his yea and amen to the whole Bible.

This assent is no small matter. This is shown by the two passages just quoted and by

James 2, 19: *Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe and tremble.*

The Jews did not lack knowledge of the contents of Moses' books. They read them every day and Sabbath day. They taught them to their children, wrote them on strips of paper, and tied them about their wrists and foreheads, carved them on the gables of their houses, and could recite entire sections from memory. Nor was there any doubt in their hearts that Moses was the author of these sayings, and that he had received them from God. But they did not accept the truth of these words, they perverted them by false interpretations, they denied their reference to Jesus of Galilee, they yielded no assent to what Moses had told them concerning the coming Messiah, who now rebukes them for their failure to give credence and a glad acceptance to the teachings of their ancient prophet. The consequence was: "The wrath of God abided on them." It rests

on the Jews to this day. Their case is similar to that of the devils, not one of whom is as great a fool as our modern atheists, who deny the existence of a personal God. The devils are fully convinced of the truth of the Scriptures, of the Christian religion, of the redeemership of Christ. But their heart is all the while opposed to the truths which they know to be truths. It is a fearful thing for them to be convinced of them; they tremble; they scorn, and yet dread God and His Christ. Failure to assent to the words which God and His Anointed have taught for the salvation of men, entails eternal damnation; approving of these words, assenting to them, and accepting what they state, brings life everlasting.

But faith is still more than knowledge and assent.

Hebr. 11, 1: *Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.*

(See THEOL. QUARTERLY X, 73 ff.) The objects of faith are removed from the believer's vision. They are immaterial. They cannot be verified by human sense and reason. And yet, they are not mere dreams and fancies, not castles in the air, not a beautiful mirage. They are very real, substantial, and evident to the believer. As to the force of *ὑπόστασις*, the Septuagint renders Ps. 39, 8: "My hope is in Thee," *ὑπόστασίς μου παρά σου*. Geier: "David with these words replies to himself, having inwardly received from the Holy Ghost a certain new enlightenment and a confirmation of his future hope; as if to say: From Thee, O Lord, I promise myself all sufficiency, as well for this life as for that to come; in Thee I have all things. (See Ps. 37, 3; 73, 25.) However, the word (תּוֹחֶלֶת from יָחַל, he has hoped, expected) signifies an expectation, or hope, which one places in something, and it is found, besides in this place, five times in the Holy Scriptures: Prov. 10, 28: 'The hope of the righteous shall be gladness,' *i. e.*, it shall be crowned at last with a glad outcome; ch. 11, 7: 'The expectation of a wicked man shall perish,' *i. e.*, it shall be frustrated in its conclusion; ch. 13, 12: 'Hope deferred maketh

the heart sick;' Job 41, 1: 'The hope of him (who expects to capture leviathan) is in vain;' and finally, Lam. 3, 18: 'My hope and my strength is perished from the Lord.' Accordingly, also in the present place such a firm trust of the heart must be understood by which we rest immovably in God as in Him who only is good, true, almighty, the truth (or realization) of whose promises for the future we await unhesitatingly, and whose kind and fatherly affection we meanwhile embrace all the time with a filial mind. Hope and confidence are sometimes used interchangeably (*promiscue*) in the Holy Scriptures, says Flacius, p. 1. *Clavis,* f. 1183. Comp. Ps. 7, 1; 9, 10. And the Septuagint version, indeed, will shed not a little light on the passage Hebr. 11, 1, where faith is likewise called *ὑπόστασις*, *i. e.,* that which causes invisible matters to subsist as though they were present, etc. The Septuagint rendering, however, has been improperly reproduced by the Vulgate: 'Thou art my substance.'"[6] As to the force of *ἔλεγχος*, the idea of cogent proof, reliability is contained in it. Matters of faith, the doctrines of Scripture, the promises of God are so perfectly sure to the believer, that he regards and speaks of them as quite evident, though he beholds not one of them with his natural eyes, nor grasps them with his natural reason. — This text, then, brings out the feature of confidence, trust, calm, firm, even proud repose, which fills the heart of the believer. All things with which his faith is occupied are quite plain and quite certain to him. He entertains no doubts either regarding affairs of the past that have been revealed, or affairs of the future which have been foretold. To his faith the world, its history, his own life present no problems.

This is illustrated by

2 Tim. 1, 12: *I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day.*

These words were spoken by the *suffering* apostle. He had been appointed a preacher and an apostle, and a teacher

6) *In Psalmos,* ad loc., p. 626 f.

of the Gentiles in those things which were necessary for their faith. His vocation had brought him bonds and stripes, ignominy and persecution; he was in daily expectation of being put to death for having proclaimed the Gospel. Under these circumstances not only did the substance and evidence of his faith not appear, but, what was worse, the very opposite appeared to the eye of flesh. Nevertheless, the apostle's faith is undaunted: he declares, in these words, his complete faith: knowledge (*οἶδα*), assent ("whom I have believed," *ᾧ πεπίστευκα*), and confidence (*πέπεισμαι*, *i. e.*, I have been persuaded, I am assured).

The confidence of faith rests upon that evidence which the subject-matter of faith offers. This is the word and promise of God, who is able (*δυνατός ἐστιν*) to make good every word He has spoken. Hence, faith relies upon Scripture, every part of it. Faith has sprung from God's Word, and ever returns to draw strength and support from that same Word. Faith is *from* the Word, and *in* the Word. The Bible is the mother which begets, the cradle which shelters, the home which nourishes, raises, supports, and protects faith. Upon any statement of Scripture the believer is willing to stake his life, the outward aspect of his earthly affairs to the contrary notwithstanding. See Rom. 8, 35—39.

It is plain that such confidence is no small matter. The apostle speaks in this passage of something "which he has committed unto Him who is able to keep it against that day." The English rendering at this place is very weak as compared to Luther's version: "Er kann mir meine Beilage bewahren." *Παραθήκη* is a deposit for safe-keeping, a bailment. Of the five different sorts of bailment known to English law the one here intended comes nearest to the fourth kind, the *mandatum*, or *commission*, "the bailment of goods to another who undertakes gratuitously to do some act for the owner in regard to them."[7] In this case the act is *φυλάξαι*, to stand guard over,

7) *Stand. Dict.*, sub voce.

"custodire ne quid auferatur, curare ne mihi eripiatur, seu tutum praestare,"[8] to guard something lest it be taken away, to exercise care lest it be snatched from me, or to render it safe. But what is παραθήκη? Wilke says: "appellatur ita doctrina pura, Timotheo commissa,"[9] and he cites 2 Tim. 2, 2 to corroborate his view: "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou (παράθου) to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." That the reference in this place is to the doctrine of faith is plain from the purpose here named for which Timothy is to commit these things. Also in 1 Tim. 6, 20: "Keep that which is committed to thy trust," the reference is to Timothy's official function as a teacher of Christianity, hence, to the doctrine, because the apostle adds this warning: "avoiding profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science falsely so-called." Finally, in 2 Tim. 1, 14: "That good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us," the reference is to the doctrine and office of Timothy, as the preceding verse shows: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus." The close succession in which παραθήκη in this chapter is twice used in vv. 12 and 14 might seem sufficient reason for us to assume the same meaning for it in both places. And yet, we hesitate to explain παραθήκη in v. 12 as denoting the doctrine of faith, for the following reason: In all the passages quoted, excepting our proof-text, παραθήκη is something which is committed to *men,* and by men, and the exhortation is virtually a reminder to be faithful to one's ordination vows as an evangelical minister. But in our text the situation is different. True, παραθήκη μου, in itself, may mean, either something that God has committed to the apostle, or something that the apostle has committed to God. However, the connection with: "I know whom I have trusted," and the fact that the apostle expects this same God to keep his παραθήκη for him, compels us to look

8) Wilke, *Clavis*, sub voce. 9) Idem, sub voce παραθήκη.

for another meaning. The passage would, indeed, yield good meaning, if interpreted thus: "I know that my creed is correct, and that God will protect the fortunes of my doctrine and office unto the end of time." But the passage yields a still better meaning, if interpreted thus: "I know in whom I have placed my trust," *i. e.*, I know what I may expect in the end; God has laid up for me a rich reward; and I am persuaded that He is able to keep my deposit, that which was given me along with my faith, my hope of eternal life. Salvation would not be safe in my hands; I place it, and I leave it in His almighty hands and expect to receive it from Him at the latter day. In this manner Paul speaks of eternal life to the Colossians (ch. 1, 5): "the hope which is laid up for you in heaven," *τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκειμένην ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. Under the adverse circumstances under which the apostle wrote these words, we hold, this is the most appropriate meaning. *Παραθήκη*, then, is "the end of faith, the salvation of our souls." [10] The confidence of

10) It is remarkable how widely expositors differ in their interpretation of this word. The Weimar Bible coincides with the view here propounded: "the crown of righteousness, which He has promised to all faithful and constant teachers of the Gospel, and which He has stored for them in heaven." CALOV: "die Beilage — that which is reserved for me in heaven, 1 Pet. 1, 4, namely, the 'inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away,' as St. Ambrose and the Weimar Bible have explained this term. Comp. 2 Tim. 4, 18." THE HIRSCHBERG BIBLE: "That He (this Lord) is able (has sufficient power) to keep for me, Rom. 4, 21, my salvation (Seligkeit), which has been laid away and stored for me in heaven, 2 Tim. 4, 8; 1 Pet. 1, 4, so that no one shall rob me of it, or I might allow it to be taken from me." WOLF (in *Lutheran Commentary*): *That which I have committed unto Him*, not "the trust committed unto me," the faith I was commissioned to preach, as in 1 Tim. 6, 20, where the same expression has the latter sense. The accepted rendering is required by the correlative clause, 'I know Him whom I have believed.' Besides, the holder, not the giver, of the deposit, is charged with guarding it. Something is meant which Paul had confided to the safe-keeping of God, had committed into the hands of Omnipotence as a costly treasure about which he no longer felt any solicitude. (1 Pet. 4, 19.) His whole self, 'all he is and is to be,' he handed over to God, as to a trustee who, whatever might befall, was able to safeguard it *against* [unto] *that day*, when it is destined to be forthcoming 'in its uninjured splendor.' It is not kept 'till that day,' but 'for that day' of days, the day of Christ's glorious

faith, then, tends heavenward. Its goal is the life eternal. Lack of confidence, doubt, is damning.

It is to be noted, too, that Scripture predicates saving powers as well of the knowledge, as of the assent, and of the

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appearing (18; 4, 8), when hope shall pass into fruition." The words "his whole self, 'all he is and is to be,'" introduce a foreign element and betray modern influence. The author has failed to show that anywhere in Scripture a person's "whole self" is called his παραθήκη. Of modern exegetes we note Wohlenberg in Zahn's *Commentary:* "Are we to understand by παραθήκη in this place the Gospel or the ministerial office just as in 1 Tim. 6, 20 (τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον!) and v. 14 (τὴν καλὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον!)? This is almost universally the accepted explanation. However, if this meaning were not suggested by the following verse, where it really has place, exegetes would hardly have hit upon it already at this place. Παραθήκη can only signify a treasure that has been entrusted: my entrusted treasure or deposit, hence not one which others have deposited with me, but one which I have deposited with others. Can this be said of the Gospel? Moreover, the diligent and faithful guarding of the deposit is made the duty of him to whom the deposit has been entrusted, not of him from whom we have received it for safe-keeping. Even when it is said that Paul, as it were, returns to God the Gospel entrusted to him, in order that God by His power may preserve it, still, aside from the oddity of this idea, the phrase εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν would be a strange addition. For this phrase serves not merely as a definition of time but of purpose, and, supposing that the preservation of the Gospel is the matter spoken of, it would express this thought, that God would preserve the Gospel in order to accomplish its destiny on the day of the return of Christ. Hence, if the treasure here referred to is one that belongs to Paul, but has been entrusted to God and is ready with God in heaven, to be returned at that day undiminished, yea, even with an increase, it cannot be Paul's soul. True, in 1 Pet. 4, 19, in a connection where likewise sufferings on account of the testimony of Christ are spoken of, those who are thus suffering are directed to commit their souls to God: πιστῷ κτίστῃ παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, and in Ps. 31, 6 (comp. Luke 23, 46; Acts 7, 59) we read in the Septuagint version: εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. God has means to keep the soul after its separation from the body, in order that on that day it may be united to the body which a person has obtained in the resurrection of the just. But in the former passage the reference is to nothing else than to committing our soul to God in prayer, something that believers are always doing, and the passage from the Psalms cannot here be brought forward, because according to the common interpretation it refers to the moment of death which is represented as still distant. Paul, however, supposes his treasure to be already in the Lord's keeping. The meaning intended is none other than

confidence of faith. (See above.) Faith is always a unit, but is viewed by us, now according to this, now according to that feature. Knowledge, assent, confidence are not parts of faith

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this, that there is laid up with God in heaven, like a credited asset, for Paul, as for every faithful servant of Christ, a reward which is being formed, increased, and perfected by the grace of God and a person's own conduct, by faithful labor in one's calling, and especially by unwavering and brave confession and suffering. (Comp. 1 Tim. 6, 18; Matt. 5, 12; 6, 20; Luke 14, 14; Matt. 19, 21.)" In a footnote the author quotes a number of interpreters who have understood παραθήκη as referring to the apostle's soul, among them Calvin, Grotius, Bengel, Hofmann. He cites Theodoret who viewed as the apostle's παραθήκη the Spirit of grace, the earnest of the Spirit with which believers are sealed; Chrysostom, who believed παραθήκη to be the apostle's faith, or his preaching, or the believers in his congregation that were entrusted to his care; Ambrose, who regards παραθήκη as the apostle's salvation; and Theophylact, who repeats Chrysostom's explanation and adds the alternative: ἢ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν, or the final reward. To substantiate what he has said about the reward of the righteous which is now forming in heaven, the author also refers to Rev. 19, 8 and to statements in Ignatius, 4 Esra, and Jewish writings, which speak of the good works of the righteous as a reward that is kept for them in heaven and with which they are decked for the marriage of the Lamb. This idea, however, is foreign both to the apostle's theology and to the term παραθήκη in our passage, which represents something that is even now complete, is not being shaped by our conduct but by God's grace. — Clarke leaves the matter undecided: *"That which I have committed unto him.*] This is variously understood. Some think he means his *life*, which he had put, as it were, into the hands of Christ, in order that he might receive it again, in the resurrection at the great day. Others think he means his *soul*. This he had also given into the hands of his faithful Creator, knowing that although wicked men might be permitted to take away his life, yet they could not destroy his soul, nor disturb its peace. Others think that he is speaking of the *Gospel*, which he knows will be carefully preserved by the great Head of the Church; for though he shall be soon called to seal the truth with his blood, yet he knows that God will take care that the same truth shall be proclaimed to the world by others, whom God shall raise up for that very purpose." (*The Holy Bible*, ad loc.) — CONYBEARE and HOWSON: "It is strange that so acute an interpreter as De Wette should maintain that this expression must necessarily mean the same thing as τὴν καλὴν παραθήκην in v. 14. Supposing St. Paul to have said, 'God will keep the trust committed to Him; do thou keep the trust committed to thee,' it would not follow that the *same* trust was meant in each case. Paul had committed himself, his soul and body, his true life, to God's keeping; this was the παραθήκη which

in the mathematical sense. Faith, saving faith, is always these three combined.

Faith is a personal affair. We can do some things through an agent, but we cannot believe thus. Hence, in confessing our

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he trusted to God's care. On the other hand, the παραθήκη committed to the charge of Timotheus was the ecclesiastical office entrusted to him." We noted the view expressed by this author in connection with Dr. Wolf's explanation in the *Lutheran Commentary*. — MACKNIGHT: "παραθήκη μου, literally, *my deposit*. This may signify either something which the apostle had deposited, or committed in trust to Christ, to be preserved and restored to him at the last day; or something which Christ had committed in trust to him to be preserved. They who understand the phrase in the first sense, think the apostle speaks of his committing to Christ his bodily life, to be preserved till he should restore it to him at the last day. This doubtless is a good sense of the phrase, being parallel to 1 Pet. 4, 19 . . .: for certainly it was a great encouragement to the servants of Christ to suffer death on account of the Gospel, to know that He would restore their bodily life to them at the resurrection. Nevertheless, seeing, by saying to Timothy, v. 14: 'The good deposit preserve by the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in us,' the apostle represents the doctrine of the Gospel as a deposit committed to him, and to the other faithful ministers of Christ, to be preserved in purity; . . . I am of opinion, that παραθήκη μου, in this verse, means *the true doctrine of the Gospel* committed in trust to the apostle and to the faithful men mentioned 2 Tim. 2, 2. — It is true, that in v. 14 and in 1 Tim. 6, 20, where the same injunction is given, the word used is not παραθήκην, as in this verse, but παρακαταθήκην: but these words have the same meaning, being both of them derived from παρατίθημι, which signifies to commit a thing in trust to another to be kept; and it is applied in particular to doctrines: 2 Tim. 2, 2. . . . — It being the great duty of the ministers of Christ, in that, and in every age, to preserve in purity the doctrines of the Gospel committed in trust to them, the apostle, to encourage them, declared here, that notwithstanding the attacks of infidels, and the arts of false teachers, and the endeavors of persecutors to extinguish the Christian religion by putting those to death who preached and professed it, he was persuaded that Christ is able to defend it, and will defend it, until the day of His second coming. (Apostol. Epistles, ad loc.) Meyer (ed. Huther): Opinions diverge widely as regards the signification of τὴν παραθήκην μου; already the Greek interpreters offer various explanations: Theodoret: 'Παραθήκη he calls either his faith, or his office, or the believers entrusted to him by Christ or by him to Christ, or the future reward.' This explanation already contains the hint that παραθήκη may mean something that God has entrusted to the apostle, or that the apostle has entrusted to God. This point marks the main difference among the various explanations, which, for the greater part, are

faith we use the first person singular rather than the plural, which we might also do, and, in fact, are doing, *e. g.*, when chanting the Creed at service.

Hab. 2, 4: *The just shall live by his faith.*

It is customary to emphasize the personal pronoun in this passage. There is no warrant for this in the text. It should rather be pointed out that the ultimate object of faith is life eternal. Everybody desires to go to heaven himself. *Ergo.* However, faith brings also temporal blessings.

Luke 7, 50: *Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.*

In our troubles we approach God in prayer. We ask others to pray for us, but we do not neglect to pray for ourselves. Our prayer is a statement of our personal wants and our personal trust that God can supply those wants. The passage adduced

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arbitrary, having no foundation in the context. Those who hold the former view understand by it the future reward mentioned in ch. 4, 8; comp. Col. 1, 5. However, against this view the term παραθήκη itself militates, because the future reward is not a treasure which men entrust to God. Or, in accordance with 1 Pet. 4, 19; Luke 23, 46, they understand by it the soul, or the spirit. However, the fact that in these passages the nouns mentioned are connected with the verb παρατίθεσθαι cannot be counted a proof that παραθήκη is identical with those nouns. Or, they understand by it the congregation, the believers. In this sense the word is found, indeed, in a spurious epistle of Ignatius, however with an explanation. Rightly De Wette relegates all interpretations based on the former view. If, in following the latter view, we are not to become lost in arbitrary assumptions, it is necessary to note the connection. Following it, we have the choice of either of two interpretations, as we look back either to the 10. or to the 11. verse. In the former case παραθήκη would mean the life imparted to the apostle by Christ. However, since Paul by the remark εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην (whereunto I am appointed) has already turned his thought from those things which Christ has brought to light, it is most natural to stop at the statement which he has made immediately before this expression and to interpret παραθήκη to mean the office of the Gospel committed to the apostle. This view is favored by the additional pronoun μου, which marks παραθήκη as something that has been personally appropriated to the apostle." — WEISS (transl. by Schodde and Wilson): "God guards the proclamation entrusted to him (Paul), by protecting the messenger against giving up his work because through fear of suffering." (*Commentary on N. T.*, ad loc.)

shows that God rewards such trust. But the folly of trusting that the religious concern of our parents, teachers, pastors for our salvation is a valid substitute for our personal faith, or that in the hour of need we can supply our lack of faith from the abundance of others, as the Roman Church teaches, is shown by the parable of the foolish virgins. *(To be continued.)*

WARTBURG LETTERS OF LUTHER.

(Continued.)

Two days later Luther addressed a letter

To Spalatin.[1]

To the gentleman of eminent learning and godliness, Mr. George Spalatin, court-preacher to the Saxon prince, my most dearly beloved in Christ.

Jesus.

Grace! I have previously received, my dear Spalatin, both your last letter and the pamphlet of Oecolampad,[2] together with all the other matter, and I am now sending through you (for it is thought that this may be done most conveniently by your hand) the finished Magnificat, as you will note, and the treatise which has grown out of the Sermon on Confession. I have dedicated the latter to Francis von Sickingen. With your pleasure these things may be printed as soon as possible. I have previously sent to the printer the 22d Psalm.

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1) The original of this letter forms part of the collection in the General Archives of Anhalt. It has been printed in Aurifaber I, 333 b, De Wette II, 16, Erlang. Corresp. III, 171, St. Louis Ed. XV, 2526 ff. — Spalatin had left Worms, together with the Elector, May 23. The latter wrote from Gerolzhofen, under date of May 31, to his brother, advising him that he hoped to be with him at Coburg the coming Sunday, June 2. (See Foerstemann, *Neues Urkundenb.*, p. 19 b.) On June 10th Melanchthon received a letter from Spalatin, then at Coburg. (See *Corp. Ref.* I, 396.) Aurifaber and Walch, who has adopted his view, have represented Spalatin as being still at Worms at this time.

2) The treatise on auricular confession. (See Theol. Quart. X, 101, note 50.)

Accordingly, you will also have this matter forwarded to the same place, unless you think that some changes ought to be made. As regards the 119th Psalm, I have reached no conclusion yet whether I shall prefer to have it bound together with the treatise on Confession or apart, as a separate book. I shall forward the remainder as soon as I shall have learned what you folks advise. For I have the elaboration of it in hand now, but have not yet completed it. For this reason the messenger was compelled to start without it.

I have not yet received the Postils. The party to whom I gave my order has miscarried them.[3] Meanwhile I have written that, if they cannot be found, you will see that I receive a copy of the Shorter Postil, if you have one, together with the Index of the Epistles and Gospels. I have, in the meantime, written an exceedingly lavish commentary in German on my Epistle for the Sunday after Christmas. I must also reply to Latomus, who is glorying in his lord, the pope. I am surprised at the spirit of Oecolampad; not so much because he has hit upon the same subject as I, as, rather, because he writes in such a frank, confident, and Christian manner. May the Lord keep him and give him increase; Amen.

I am very idle and very busy: I am learning Hebrew and Greek and am incessantly writing. My host[4] treats me far better than I deserve. The affliction from which I suffered at Worms has not yet left me; it has rather become aggravated: I am suffering from such excessive costiveness, as I have never before in my life. I almost despair of ever being cured. The Lord is thus visiting me in order that I should not be without some remnants of the cross. His name be praised! Amen.

I wonder what is delaying the imperial Edict. I have read the letter in print which I addressed to the Estates of the Empire on my return from Worms; but it is full of mistakes. There is a report that Mr. Schifer is dead and has left the

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3) hat einen Irrtum begangen.

4) von Berlepsch, warden of Castle Wartburg.

Emperor Charles a million guilders in gold. What a bold Christ ours is, because He is not afraid of these mountains of gold! Would to God, however, that they might know at last that He, the Lord, is our God.

I have not answered the last letter of the junior prince, because I did not know the place of his sojourn, nor do I consider an answer necessary. By sending too many letters the secret of my abode might through some accident be betrayed. Do pray for me; that is the one thing I am in need of; I have everything else in abundance. I am unconcerned regarding what is done abroad with regard to my person. I have found rest here at last. Godspeed to you in the Lord! Extend my greetings wherever you have opportunity.

From the Isle of Patmos, June 10, 1521,
Henricus Nesicus.[5]

Luther's refutation of Latomus was not forwarded to Jonas until June 22. The concluding remarks are addressed personally

To Justus Jonas.[6]

However, I revert to you, my dear Jonas, and dismiss this Latomus so as to be rid of annoyance, because I have now begun my German exposition of the Epistles and Gospels. That is the reason why reading and replying to his filth has proven annoying to me. Some other time when it seems good to me I shall reply to all his writing. My only want in this exile is books; I am suffering the sentence by which the inquisitors[7]

5) Aurifaber and De Wette suggest nescius, in the sense of the unknown, hidden one, the recluse, who also cares to know nobody. But that would change the plain reading of the original. Lindner, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1835, p. 82, suggests that νησικός, a dweller in an island, is a word coined by Luther. In his *Book of Names* Luther interprets Hinric "the father of many;" hence, Henricus Nesicus = the insular author (father) of many writings.

6) St. Louis Ed. XVIII, 1199 ff.

7) *Ketzer-Magister;* "inquisitors" will correctly render this term, but will not reproduce the paronomasia which Luther intends at this place. His *Ketzer-Magister* is not only a person who coerces heretics, but

forced the Jews to have no book but the Bible; for I have in my possession the Bible only. Not as though it were a great matter with me whether I have books, but they would serve my end so far as I must examine whether sayings of the fathers have been honestly cited by my opponent. For he quotes Dionysius to prove that we must "pray" to God in behalf of the departed, while Dionysius speaks of "praising" God, as I remember very well. And why does not one of you — either you or Andreas Carlstadt — reply to his other blunders?[8] Why does not Amsdorf come forward? Is it not your duty, as well as mine, to defend the Gospel? I have bruised the serpent's head, why cannot you bruise its body?

For instance, when he interprets the words of Job, chap. 9, 28: "I am afraid of all my sorrows," thus: "I am afraid," that is, "I observe;" and when, in Ps. 143, 2: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant," etc., where the prophet deprecates God's judgment, he expounds that saying thus: The entire life of God is without sin, while no man's entire life is without sin; hence, he wishes not to be judged by the life of God. Thus, he puts the life of God for the judgment of God, or the countenance of God before which we must appear. But where in Scripture is the expression understood in that sense? If, then, any part of our life could demand: "Enter into judgment with me," that part, forsooth, would have to be numbered in a different class from that which embraces all the living. However, is he not adducing the fathers? Aye, but were not the fathers men like we? Now, could not one of you refute these and similar antics quite easily? The judgment of God is that act of God by which He tests our life, not compares His life with ours. For, what an absurdity would it be to compare the life eternal with that which lasts but a moment! There are many things in his writing, yea, nearly all, of this

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who is himself a great heretic, not only a heretic-master, but a master heretic. — Perhaps some one of our readers can suggest the proper equivalent.

8) das Uebrige.

sort. Now, I should be greatly pleased if you also would do something for the Word, and I might thus obtain leisure for once to render some service to our poor people. You tyros must be exercised, and this were best done while I am living and may still be of some help to you. But, here is the treatise; pray, take it. How glad I am not to have to keep it with me any longer! Godspeed to you!

Given at my Patmos, June 22, 1521.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEW.

THE PRECIOUS AND SACRED WRITINGS OF MARTIN LUTHER. Based on the Kaiser Chronological Edition, with Reference to the Erlangen und Walch Editions. *Vol. XI: Luther's Church Postil,* Gospels for Epiphany, Lent, and Easter Sermons. By *Prof. John Nicholas Lenker, D. D.* Vol. II. Second Thousand. Lutherans in All Lands Co., Minneapolis, Minn. 1906. 16 and 398 pp. Price, $2.50. (Sample volume, $1.65.)

The enterprise of which the above is the latest fruit is about three years old. During that time seven volumes have been issued, as follows: Vol. I, The Psalms, embracing Ps. I to VIII; vol. I, Commentary on Genesis, embracing chapters I—IV, 14 a of Luther's larger commentary, according to the rendering of Dr. Henry Cole; St. Peter and St. Jude, according to the rendering of Prof. E. H. Gillett; and the four volumes remaining contain all of the Gospel portion of the Church Postil, save the section beginning with the Second Sunday after Easter and ending with Trinity Sunday. This section is now in preparation. Each volume contains about 400 pages, 8vo, of translated matter, and a great deal of introductory matter, only part of which, however, is relevant, cognate to the subject, and really helpful to the study of the writings of our Doctor.

At the present rate of publication more than a life-time will be required before the work is completed, and the complete works of Luther in this edition will be a very respectable library of over one hundred neat and handy volumes, well printed and well bound. This

is certainly a stupendous undertaking, but it is not impossible of achievement. Even when published in the original, a complete edition of Luther's works has always required a long time. The oldest edition, that of Wittenberg, in twenty volumes, was published in the space of nineteen years, or one volume to the year. The Jena edition, if the two supplementary volumes of Eisleben are added, required ten years for fourteen volumes. The smaller Altenburg edition, in ten volumes, was completed in three years, the supplementary volume (Halle, 1702) being too far removed in point of time to be reckoned a part of it. It required eleven years to bring out the Leipzig edition, in twenty-three volumes, not counting Greiff's Index, and Walch's edition, in twenty-four volumes, was published in the space of thirteen years. Of modern editions the Erlangen was begun in 1826 and completed, in hundred volumes, in 1873. The St. Louis edition was begun in 1883; in a year, possibly in two years, the index volume, which completes the edition, will be issued, making the time for the publication of this edition about a quarter of a century. And as regards the Weimar or Kaiser edition, which was commenced in the same year as the St. Louis edition, it is now in its twenty-ninth volume and, on the chronological plan which has been adopted for this edition, has proceeded as far as the year 1529, leaving the labors of sixteen of the most fertile years of Luther's pen still to be reproduced. Accordingly, if the present edition of "the American Luther," which necessitates the rendering of every word of the original into another language, shall consume fifty years, this would not be surprising. Moreover, while for purposes of reference and of topical study we could wish to see this edition completed more speedily, the slower rate of publication offers two decided advantages: it enables even a slim purse to purchase volume after volume as it appears, and the interval of time elapsing between the publication of two volumes will be sufficient in most instances for the *study* of each newly purchased volume, which is the point of chief importance.

The vitality of Luther's writings is truly marvelous. It is three hundred and sixty years since Luther dropped his pen. He had not written for the entertainment of idle minds; his subjects were all of a religious kind, stern and forbidding to the easy-going and worldly mind. It is a proof of the inherent power of these writings when in three centuries and a half again and again men rise all over the world to testify, in terms of admiration, to the value of Luther's sermons and treatises and letters, and moreover, foreign nations are eager to have these writings brought to them in their own language. As regards the English tongue, Luther has been a favorite with Britons

ever since the days of Henry VIII. There was a time when Luther's words were a power in the British Isles which king and prelate dreaded. The British Church was being leavened with Luther's ideas. Men of rank and influence were furthering the movement. To quote one of them, Edwin, Bishop of London, on April 28, 1575, introduces Luther's Galatians with the following commendatory words: "This Book being brought unto me to peruse, and to consider of, I thought it my Part, not only to allow of it to the Print, but also to commend it to the Reader, as a Treatise most comfortable to all afflicted Consciences exercised in the School of Christ. The Author felt what he spake, and had Experience of what he wrote, and therefore able more lively to express both the Assaults and the Salving; the Order of the Battle, and the Mean of the Victory. Satan is the Enemy, the Victory is only by Faith in Christ, as John recordeth. If Christ justify, who can condemn? saith St. Paul. This most necessary Doctrine the Author hath most substantially declared in this his Commentary; which, being written in the Latin Tongue, certain godly, learned Men, have most sincerely translated into our Language, to the great Benefit of all such, as, with humbled Hearts, will diligently read the same. Some began it, according to such Skill as they had; others, godly affected, not suffering so good a Matter, in handling, to be marred, put to their helping Hands, for the better framing and furthering so worthy a Work. They refuse to be named, seeking neither their own Gain nor Glory, but thinking it their Happiness, if by any Means they may relieve afflicted Minds, and do Good to the Church of Christ, yielding all Glory unto God, to whom all Glory is due." This letter shows that British readers had grasped, and were prompt to appropriate, what is the very marrow and substance in Luther's writings, the sinner's justification by grace through faith in Christ, and that it was not international comity, which occasionally prompts the rendering of a famous author's book into a foreign tongue, but the acknowledged spiritual need of a nation that was to be supplied with food from this German store-house. The national church of Great Britain has had a strange development. Powerful influences succeeded in diverting the reformatory movement from Luther and turning it into Calvinizing channels. But Luther has never been forgotten by Britons. Amid the fierce persecutions which broke upon the Dissenters, they turned for solace and guidance to the writings of Luther. John Foxe introduces Bull's rendering of Luther's Psalms of Degrees with these words: "Good reader, . . . I doubt not but thy labour shall be recompensed with no less consolation to thy soul's health, than the godly translator thereof, Mr. Bull, did receive in

translating of the same. Who as he once made his vow unto the Lord for certain causes, to turne this book from Latin into English, so with no less fidelity did well perform the same. Blessed be the Lord therefore, which both put him in mind first to take this work in hand, and so granted him life to the accomplishment thereof; for so it pleased the Lord to continue his life so long, till this vowed work was fully finished." In the beginning of the last century English booksellers were again vending volumes of Luther's writings. A very gifted translator of Luther had appeared in the person of Rev. Henry Cole of Clare Hall, Cambridge, who brought out, with the financial aid of a Scotch lady, first a series of four volumes of selected writings, and then promised further translations of Luther's Genesis in five volumes, the briefer exposition of the Psalms, the exposition of the 45th and 90th Psalms, and others, which promise was nearly all fulfilled at the death of the author. Cole's translations have more than others combined faithful adherence to the original with a smooth rendering. The present edition of Dr. Lenker, we understand, is to embrace the translations of Cole. In 1823 Edward Thomas Vaughan issued Luther's Bondage of the Will with a preface and notes, in which he frequently takes exception to Luther's teachings and, in fact, aims to defeat many of Luther's arguments. Five years before him Joseph Kerby had reissued Captain Henry Bell's rendering of Luther's Familiar Discourses (Tischreden), and as late as 1896 Doctors Wace and Buchheim of London issued in repeated editions the Primary Works of Luther, embracing the two Catechisms, the Ninety-five Theses, the Address to the Nobility of the German Nation and the treatises Concerning Christian Liberty and on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church. This work was prompted by the fourth centenary of Luther's birth. The theses and the two treatises were translated by Rev. S. Grignon and the Catechisms by Miss Buchheim, aided by Miss Dora Schmitz, the whole work being afterwards revised by Doctors Wace and Buchheim. In his theological introduction the former says: "Much has been written about him (Luther), and the general history of his life and work is being sketched by able pens. But no adequate attempt has yet been made to let him speak for himself to Englishmen by his greatest and most characteristic writings. The three works which, together with the Ninety-five Theses, are included in this volume, are well known in Germany as the *Drei Grosse Reformations-Schriften,* or 'The Three Great Reformation Treatises' of Luther; but they seem never yet to have been brought in this character before the English public. The treatise on Christian Liberty has indeed been previously translated, though not of late

years. But from an examination of the catalogue in the British Museum, it would appear that no English translation is accessible, even if any has yet been published, of the Address to the German Nobility or of the Treatise on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church. Yet, as is well understood in Germany, it is in these that the whole genius of the Reformer appears in its most complete and energetic form. . . . It occurred therefore to my colleague and myself that a permanent service might perhaps be rendered to Luther's name, and towards a due appreciation of the principles of the Reformation, if these short but pregnant Treatises were made more accessible to the English public." These motives certainly are a credit to the publishers.

In our country there have appeared not only reprints of British publications, *e. g.*, Luther's Galatians, but also new and independent translations. We have already noted E. H. Gillett, who, with the aid of Prof. Robinson of Union Theological Seminary and Rev. M. Bushe, pastor of a German church at Harlem, N. Y., published in 1859 Luther's exposition of the two Epistles of Peter and that of Jude. His work has been reissued by Dr. Lenker. Gillett is an able translator, though biased, it would seem, on the subject of baptism, on which he thinks, Luther "speaks like one who as yet sees 'men as trees walking.'" (p. 7.) The Henkels of New Market, Va., brought out translations of Luther, not only in their two editions of the Book of Concord, but also in separate publications, *e. g.*, Luther on the Sacraments and the Epistle portion of Luther's Church Postil. The former work contains Joseph Salyard's renderings of the Sermon on Baptism and the Dissertation on the Lord's Supper of 1528. Within the Ohio Synod, the Augustana Synod, the General Synod, and the General Council writings of Luther have been translated at various times during the last century, so that there is even at this day quite a respectable number of volumes extant of writings of Luther done into English. All this goes to show that Luther has not lost his hold on the hearts of men. And we are not surprised that Dr. Lenker's enterprise has received praise and commendation not only within the Lutheran Church, but also outside of it, the New York *Observer,* the *Outlook,* the *Canadian Baptist,* the *Reformed Church Messenger,* the *American Messenger,* organ of the American Tract Society, the *Presbyterian* of Philadelphia, the *Christian Advocate* of New York, the *Congregationalist* of Boston, and many others having given it favorable mention. We doubt, indeed, whether the reviewers in every instance have read the volumes submitted to them; for to endorse their contents in many instances means the surrender of erroneous posi-

tions in regard to doctrine, as occupied by the reviewers. Nevertheless, the fact that the mere sight of a volume of Luther's writings can inspire an American editor to write a brief eulogy of Luther, shows that the power of Luther on the mind of the race has not been broken and his name is still a name to conjure with.

The volume before us is rich in doctrine and comfort. The childlike and, at the same time, heroic faith of Luther now lisps, now thunders in these sermons the everlasting truths of the Word in language so plain and unadorned as to reach the rudest, and withal so searching and penetrating into the root of every matter as to engage and hold the attention of the trained mind. Presentations like these of the true character of the Gospel and of the Law and their legitimate functions and spheres of action, of faith and works in their union and opposition, of the means of grace and their relation to the spiritual life, of the glory of the Christian's crosses and his foretaste, by the hope that is in him, of his future comfort, — all these subjects, with the practical application which accompanies them, and exhibiting the scripturalness and rugged common sense of the Reformer's views on such vital and timely topics as temperance, marriage, dancing, etc., ought to be a welcome leaven for our nation in these days of unblushing immorality on the one hand and bigotry, sanctimoniousness and canting hypocrisy on the other. No Christian patriot will rise from the perusal of this book without the wish that these sermons could be preached throughout our country from border to border.

It remains to say a few words regarding the work of the translators. Dr. Lenker has followed the advice of Luther, who urges interpreters not to work alone, but to combine efforts. (Erl. 57, 4.) Luther himself adopted this method in his translation of the Bible. In the present volume ten translators have cooperated with the editor, and their work, we are glad to acknowledge, has been faithfully performed. Some of the sermons, *e. g.*, the first sermon for Easter Tuesday, by Rev. Haentzschel, the second sermon, by Rev. Schuette, the sermon for the third Sunday after Epiphany, by Pres. Voigt, and the second sermon for Easter Monday, by Prof. Schaller, have been excellently rendered. It is an ungrateful task to criticise the work of a translator, especially a translator of Luther. We are quite willing to heed Luther's own remarks on this subject in his *Brief vom Dolmetschen* of 1530. (Erl. 65, 102.) And we can readily understand the import of Dr. Lenker's remarks on p. 11 regarding "unmerciful critics." Nevertheless, common candor and the high esteem in which we hold this entire enterprise of publishing an American Luther

compel us to note a few startling insufficiencies. They concern mostly Dr. Lenker's own work. To translate "es ist beschlossen *festiglich*" "it is decreed *as on a festive occasion*" (p. 112), and again: "*festiglich* glaeubest" "believe *with a festive spirit*" (p. 189), are plain and unvarnished blunders. Of the same stripe are the following: "rare *foundlings*" for "seltsame *Fuendlein*" (p. 123); "with works he must *appear blue*" for "mit Werken muss er *sich bleuen*" (p. 131); "when we do not feel anything that *presents its back to us*" for "dass man nichts fuehlen soll, das *uns den Ruecken haelt*" (p. 137); "you must rely with all your *weight*" for "musst du mit ganzem *Wag* dich verlassen" (p. 189). These renderings betray a lack of understanding of the German idiom. This feature crops out again in the rendering of Luther's "Metze." "An den jungen Metzen, die Jungfrauen sind" has been rendered "prostitutes who are virgins" (sic!) (p. 121). This rendering destroys the meaning and force of the entire passage. The German "Metze," like the English "wench" in Shakespeare's time, is capable of being used also in a good sense, even as a term of endearment. On p. 143 in the phrase "auf falschen Gottes Glauben" the connection of the adjective has been misunderstood: it is not "of false faith in God" but "of faith in a false God." "Wuerdigen" on p. 185 should be rendered "make worthy," or "render worthy," not "prove;" "geruehret," p. 231, should be simply "touched upon," not "pathetically touched;" "Urlaub" on p. 309 is not the military term "furlough," but the common "permission" or "leave;" "martyrs" for "martern," p. 189 (said of the conscience), is misleading. On p. 115: "Welche Kraft des Teufels nicht allein das bedeutet" has been rendered: "What power of Satan this alone reveals;" this should be: "which power of Satan signifies, not only," etc. Luther's "Larven," p. 141, cannot be rendered "larva." In the phrase "So kehrt's Gott eben um," the conjunctive "so" has adversative force and cannot be rendered by "thus." We doubt very much the correctness of the rendering "migration of souls" for "den wandelnden Seelen" (p. 313). "Roaming spirits," which phrase the same author employs a few lines further, shows what Luther is speaking about. In such thoroughly idiomatic expressions as "dass ihm von einer Buebin der Hals abgetanzt ward" ("being beheaded by a knave," p. 33); "ihn zwischen die Sporen fassen" ("place him between the spurs," p. 18); "muerbe werden" ("become humble," p. 18); "hochbegnadet" ("upon whom many favors were bestowed," p. 18); "geschweige" ("with no thought that," p. 56), it may have been very difficult to discover the proper English equivalent, but in the phrase first quoted the reference has been destroyed by the rendering; for Luther's "Buebin" is not the

executioner, who did not dance, but Herodias's daughter. However, Luther's phrase "ging den Hundsweg" ("went wrong"), p. 377, should have been rendered "went to the dogs." The English phrase is strong, but it is proper. "Switches" for "Stoecke" (p. 59), "slaves of appetite" for "Bauchknechte" (p. 168), are weak renderings. On p. 249, in the fourth line from below, the preposition "by" must be inserted before "faith," otherwise the sentence conveys a wrong meaning. We do not understand why "des hochwuerdigen Sacramentes" on p. 235 has been rendered "of the wafer of the sacrament." Likewise, on p. 152: "da gibt er ihr schlechts vor, sie sei der Verdammten und Verlorenen eine," is not adequately expressed by: "he presents her in a bad light." On p. 197, in the second line from the bottom of the page, "for this reason" should be "for the following reason" and placed at the end of the clause, followed by a colon. On p. 63 the clause: "will not think of God in a different way and mean the words," should be: "than the words imply." On p. 98 the clause: "they are not to guard the wisdom and power of men, but Christ himself" should be: "the wisdom and power of men are not to protect them, but," etc. We waive further mention of minor points on which we should differ with the Editor, and merely suggest that the editorial work should be done more scholarly, and the aid of students of Luther should be sought to a still greater extent for future volumes.

The American Revision of the Bible has been adopted in the rendering of the texts and proof-passages of these sermons. We deplore this feature. Not that we would deny all merit to the renderings of the American Revisers: "self-control" for "temperance" and "faithfulness" for "faith" in Gal. 5, 22 may be considered improvements, but "false factions" for "heresies" or "sects" in 1 Cor. 11, 19, "belief" for "faith" in Rom. 10, 17, "the whole creation" for "every creature" in Mark 16, 15, are no improvements. In 2 Cor. 12, 7 the phrase "the abundance of the revelation" has been transposed and given a different connection by the revisers. The consequence is that in quoting this passage the translator has simply dropped the phrase entirely and has, to that extent, failed to reproduce Luther who has embodied that phrase in the seventh verse. (p. 110.) But the translator was plainly handicapped by being compelled to quote Luke 2, 49 according to the American Revision: "Knew ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" Luther, indeed, refers to the temple as τὰ τοῦ πατρός μου, but he assumes, at the same time, a wider meaning for this Greek phrase. Witness the following: "Was ist aber Gottes? sind es nicht alle Kreaturen? Wahr ist's, dass alles Gottes ist: aber eigentlich ist es die heilige Schrift und sein Wort; denn das andere

alles ist uns gegeben." This has been rendered: "But what is the house of God? Is it not the whole creation? It is indeed true that God is everywhere, but he is especially present in the Holy Scriptures, in his Word, more than anywhere else." (p. 23.) It is plain that this rendering does not fully reproduce Luther's meaning. Rightly, therefore, the translator of the second sermon on the same Gospel, Rev. Ochsenford, has discarded the rendering of the Revision (p. 42) and adopted Luther's version. — It seems absurd to make Luther expound a text which he never knew. The correctness or clearness of the modern version cannot be urged in this connection; because it is the plain duty of a translator to reproduce his author, not to harmonize the views of his author with the views of later scholars. In all places, therefore, in which the modern version deviates from Luther's rendering, we hold that the translator is bound to follow Luther and to disregard the Revision. Moreover, the English-speaking Christians of the present generation are not a unit as yet in their adoption of the Revision of the Bible for common use. We doubt whether they ever will be. As for ourselves, we still use the Authorized exclusively in our churches, schools, and homes. Our children learn proof-texts according to the Authorized. They recite Mark 10, 16: "Of such is the kingdom," not, "To such belongeth," etc.; Mark 16, 16: "He that believeth not," not, "He that disbelieveth;" Rom. 10, 17: "Faith cometh," not, "Belief cometh;" Hebr. 2, 16: "He took not on him the nature of angels," instead of, "not to angels doth he give help," etc. For practical reasons, too, we regret the introduction of the Revised text: it is not familiar to our people.

We note, with pleasure, that in the production of the present volume vol. XI of our St. Louis edition has been frequently consulted. The "History of Luther's Church Postil" (pp. 7—11), barring a few additions of the Editor, is almost entirely an abbreviated reproduction of the able and painstaking dissertation of our editors, Koerner and Kaehler, in their Preface to vol. XI. Why Dr. Lenker has changed the date of St. Elizabeth's Day from November 19 to November 21, we do not understand. (See Herzog, R. E. III, 768.) Also for the greater part of his foot-note on the subject of dancing (p. 59 f.) the explanation of the term Kaland (p. 255), for "Er Reuling" (p. 128), though we doubt whether "Rev. Reuling" will be understood, and for many of the historical notes at the heads of sermons the editor is indebted to the St. Louis edition.

The dedicatory page we consider out of balance. With the first section we fully agree. The memory of those German and Scandinavian students who "gathered around Luther in the university of Wittenberg and then returned home to translate his doctrine and

spirit into their mother tongues" deserves to be kept green among us. But we dissent from the second section. The Reformation did not "blossom into German Pietism." All honor to Spener, Francke, Ziegenbalg and Muehlenberg for their missionary zeal, but let us not overlook the fact that elements foreign to the teachings of the Lutheran church were being introduced by these men. And as to the third section, the Lutheran church owes small thanks to the Gustavus Adolphus Society, which, despite its missionary activity, is a body in which modern rationalism, which Dr. Lenker, too, warns against, is rampant.

However, there are words of wisdom spoken by the editor on p. 15 which we wish to transfer to these pages. He says:

Even the young German and Scandinavian ministers, we are sorry to say, are not in this critical period of transition taking a very wise course. They as a rule make one or more of the following three blunders when they preach in English.

1. They do not draw enough from the sources they use when they preach German or Scandinavian. As a father recently said: When I hear the young German and Scandinavian ministers preach in their own languages, it is Lutheran, it has a Luther spirit in it, but when they preach in English no one can tell what it is. It has none of the Luther ring in it.

2. Another mistake is, that in their constant exploring for new matter, they neglect their diction. They seem to think the matter they have been giving in their native tongue is not good enough for the American people. This is a mistake. This is just what the Americans desire and will enjoy, they are surfeited with the other already. If young preachers would take any advice, we would tell them, when you preach in English do not worry about new matter, but labor to put that which is the most familiar to you into as good pulpit English as you can command. A student recently said: When I preach English and read Luther in German my English suffers. When I preach German, I want to read German sources, and when I preach in English, I prefer to read English sources. It may sound well to say, I want to read Luther in the original. All right! Our cry is, "Read Luther!" It matters little what language, if you are only loyal and have the time, patience and diligence to translate him into fluent English, while you use him.

3. The third mistake that some young preachers are making is that they think they can have a distinctively Lutheran church by conforming to certain external matters. We have been in English Lutheran churches where the pastor and people were given to boasting of how Lutheran everything was, but strange they never referred to the Luther ring of their pulpit, of their preaching the Word. Hence the good Germans or Scandinavians, who read their Postils, go away from these churches feeling they would rather have the sermon Lutheran and nothing else than to have everything else Lutheran but the sermon. When you look into the libraries of these very pastors and laymen you as a rule find there all kinds of books but Luther's writings. Our people should not cease reading their Postils, but our pastors should return to them in the crisis of our transition. If the congregation sing the tunes and hymns and the preachers preach as Luther did, a glorious Lutheran sound will go forth into the world; and where this is not done all boasting will be in vain. The American pulpit is changing. What shall be its future character? The greatest preacher of Protestantism will help to answer this question if the young German and Scandinavian pastors give him a chance to be heard.

We fully endorse these statements and shall watch, with undiminished interest, the further success of this great enterprise of giving to America the best that Germany has produced, and of preserving to our children and children's children the faith of their fathers in their native tongue.

COUNTRY SERMONS. *New Series.* Vol. II. Sermons on the Epistles for the Church Year. Festive Cycle Advent to Pentecost. By *Rev. F. Kuegele.* Augusta Publishing Co., Crimora, Va. 1906. VII and 362 pp. Price, $1.00, postpaid.

The book contains thirty-eight sermons on standard epistle texts. On Christmas Day the text for the matin service, and on second Christmas Day the text for the first day have been treated. For the Sunday after Christmas the text for the third day of Christmas has been substituted, and the second sermon for Pentecost treats the text for the third day of the festival. For the Sunday after New Year, Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, Sixth Sunday in Lent, and Maundy Thursday the first text of the choice has been treated.

Excepting in about half a dozen instances the author has drawn into his discourse, and expounded, the entire text. On Epiphany II a selection had to be made from the long series of virtues enumerated, and so the author has disregarded vv. 12—15. On Epiphany V the real text of the discourse is v. 17. On Septuagesima the first half of the text (ch. 9, 24—27) is treated in the introduction. On Quinquagesima vv. 1—7 have been disregarded. On Lent I the characteristics of the servant of Christ have been condensed. On Lent II the reference to fornication has rightly been put aside, because the Sunday following requires special treatment of that subject. The text for Good Friday embraces the first six verses.

The Epistle texts, more than others, are the test of a good *pastor.* In the treatment of these texts the doctrinal element naturally recedes and the parenetic and elenchic elements predominate. Christianity is always applied Christianity, and its teachers are aware that their efforts must be, not to afford their hearers an intellectual diversion, but to quicken them into a new life and strengthen them therein. This character of genuine Christianity is made very prominent in those fatherly talks which the apostles have addressed to their churches. The truths which the Gospel inculcates are here shown not only in the manner in which they affect the believer's relation to God, but also to this earthly life with its thousand great

and small duties, dangers, fears, hopes, joys, sorrows, etc. A fine discrimination between Law and Gospel is required at every turn in the exposition of these texts.

Accordingly, in the book before us, though it is full of sound doctrine, the strictly doctrinal discourse is rare. (Sunday after Christmas: The true divinity of Christ: 1. He is God of God, having one essence with the Father; 2. He is higher than all creatures. Fourth Sunday after Easter: Regeneration: 1. the Author; 2. the means; 3. the fruit.) Christological subjects are discussed, as follows: II. Advent: The comforting truth that in Jesus Christ there is abundance of salvation both for Jews and Gentiles: 1. Christ is come a Savior for all men; 2. in Him we have a sure foundation of hope. Second Sermon for Christmas: The appearance of the grace of God to all men in the birth of the Child at Bethlehem: 1. the meaning of the words: "The grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men;" 2. to what kind of walk this grace of God should educate us. Lent V: The sacrifice of Christ a better offering than those of the Old Testament: 1. because He, being a greater high priest, entered into a greater and more perfect tabernacle; 2. because He entered in by His own blood; 3. because He made atonement also for the transgressions under the first Testament. Lent VI: Christ's humiliation and exaltation a strong inducement to humility and faith: 1. His humiliation; 2. His exaltation. Second Sermon for Easter: The resurrection of Jesus Christ demonstrating Him the Son of God and the world's Savior: 1. it proves Him the true God; 2. it confirms all that He began both to speak and to do. Ascension: Three things demonstrated by Christ's ascension to heaven: 1. the completion of His work on earth; 2. the nature of His kingdom; 3. the duty of His citizens. In the three Old Testament pericopes the connection between prophecy and fulfillment is shown: Christmas: What the Child in the manger is unto us: 1. a great Light; 2. a mighty Deliverer; 3. an eternal King. Epiphany: The mercy shown to the Gentiles: 1. how great this mercy is; 2. what duty it imposes. Good Friday: The Lord of life tasting death for the sinner that the sinner should live. (Treated in homily fashion, without divisions.) Soteriological subjects are presented on Sexagesima: Paul glorifying the grace of God: 1. in his labors; 2. in his revelations; 3. in his temptations. Lent IV: Allegory of Agar and Sarah: 1. the allegory itself; 2. the doctrine contained in it. Pentecost: Miraculous outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the disciples: 1. the manner of His coming; 2. the object; 3. the marks by which His indwelling is known. Second Sermon: Coming of the Spirit on the Samaritans: 1. who the Samaritans were; 2. how they received the Spirit; 3. sev-

eral truths which we should learn from this history. The means of grace and their use are shown on Lent I: Right use of the time of grace: 1. improve it to lay hold on the grace of God through faith; 2. be zealous to bring forth the fruits of faith. Maundy Thursday: The Lord's Supper a most precious sacrament to the believing soul: 1. precious in itself; 2. in the object for which it was instituted. First Sunday after Easter: The witness of God: 1. what it is; 2. how it is given; 3. how it is sealed on the hearts of men. Fifth Sunday after Easter: Hearing of God's Word. There are three sermons exhibiting the character of that divinely ordained society on earth, the believers in Christ, the Church: I. Epiphany: The Church Christ's mystical body: 1. why the Church is called by this name; 2. what duties devolve on those who are members of Christ's body. VI. Epiphany: Firmness of the Church's foundation confirmed 1. by the testimony of the apostles; 2. by the word of the prophets; 3. by its own testimony. III. Advent: Right relation of Christians to their pastor: 1. they should count him Christ's steward; 2. they should require faithfulness of him; 3. they should judge of him a right judgment. II. Epiphany: Paul's exhortation to the practice of congregational duties: 1. duties of the officers; 2. duties of all the members. An eschatological subject is presented on Quinquagesima: Difference between the Christian's life on earth and that in heaven: 1. what things will be done away and what will remain; 2. what we must strive for in this life. From the outlines quoted it has already appeared that the author aims, in every instance, to apply Scripture truths for the sanctification of his hearers. But he has offered also entire sermons on this subject in its general and particular aspects: Lent II: Growing in sanctification: 1. what sanctification is, 2. why it is so necessary to grow in it. V. Epiphany: Doing all in the name of the Lord Jesus: 1. why we should do all, etc.; 2. what is doing all in His name? Sixth Sunday after Easter: Seeking God's glory in all things: 1. that this is our duty and calling; 2. how God is honored in the practice of the virtues here enumerated. IV. Advent: The Christian's joy: 1. what it is; 2. what it effects in him. IV. Epiphany: Love the fulfilling of the Law: 1. how all the Law is fulfilled in love; 2. some qualities which accrue to the love required in the Law. III. Epiphany: Right Christian conduct with regard to strife and enmity: 1. enmity we should avoid; 2. retaliation we should flee; 3. to win our enemies we should strive. III. Lent: Paul's earnest warning against fornication: 1. against what he warns; 2. what arguments he uses. Easter: Keeping Easter in a manner becoming the righteous: 1. by rejoicing over our Passover; 2. by purging out the old leaven. Third Sunday after Easter: The Christian a patriotic

and law-abiding citizen: 1. because civil government is God's institution; 2. because herein also he should let his light shine before men. We note, lastly, that this book is very rich in comfort to the bearers of the cross. I. Advent: The comfort and admonition which the beginning of a new Church Year offers to us Christians: 1. the comfort; 2. the admonition. New Year: The comfort of those at the change of the year who believe in Christ: they are 1. no more under the Law; 2. the children of God and joint heirs with Christ. Sunday after New Year: Committing the soul to God in the crosses and afflictions of this life: 1. it is not a shame to suffer with Christ; 2. judgment must begin at the house of God. Septuagesima: The Christian's source of strength and comfort in his pilgrimage: 1. where to seek strength; 2. how to use it wisely. Second Sunday after Easter: Why we should willingly suffer with Christ: 1. because hereunto we are called; 2. because Christ suffered; 3. because He is our Shepherd and Bishop.

The present volume will prove a great help to the church; for good expositions of the Epistle texts are not plentiful. The attention of the public was first directed to the author as a capable expounder of these texts in 1887, when he began to publish sermons on the Epistles in *The Lutheran Witness,* upon very urgent representations of the editor. The sermons before us, however, are not a mere reprint of former publications: ten are entirely new, and the rest have been revised to such an extent that they must also be called new sermons. A reference to vols. VI—VIII of *The Lutheran Witness* will show this to be a fact.

CHRISTIAN GIVING NUMBER TWO. Third Thousand. By *William Dallmann.* Pittsburg, Pa. American Lutheran Publication Board 1901. 80 pp. Price, 10 cents.

This well-known tract is out in a new edition. It discusses: I. How Christians should give, viz., 1. intelligently, 2. cheerfully, 3. regularly, 4. personally, 5. religiously, 6. proportionately; II. why Christians should give, viz., because of 1. God's command, 2. God's threat, 3. God's promise, 4. God's example, 5. God's Christians. The author's plan is to cite Scripture bearing on the point he wishes to discuss, to apply the truth stated directly to the matter in hand, without any comment, to illustrate its meaning by apt anecdotes, and to charge upon the hackneyed excuses usually offered, some of which are so old as to be called venerable if the subject did not forbid us. It is a very effective presentation of our much neglected duty, and deserves to be widely circulated.

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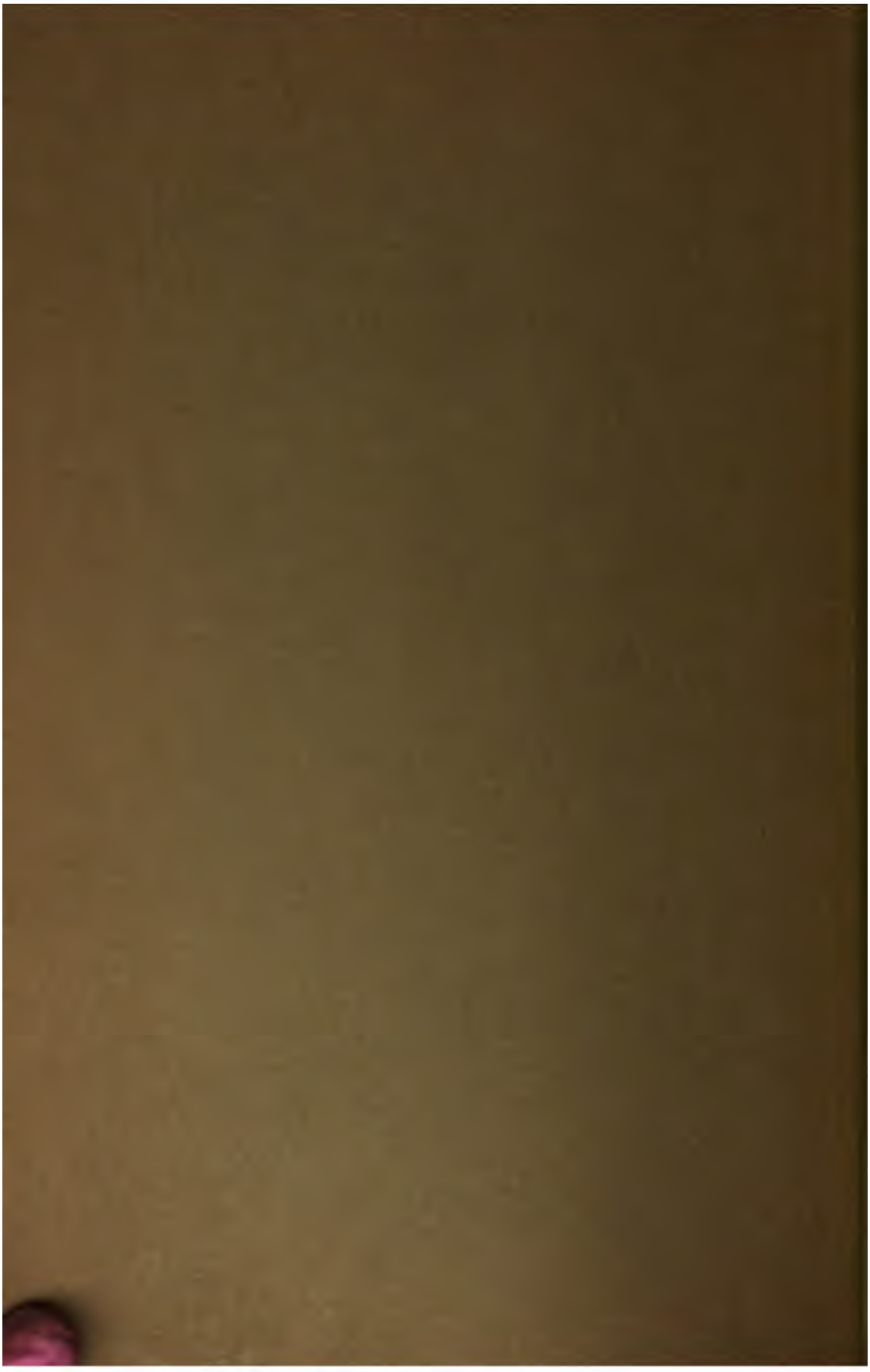
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